

TRADITION, TRANSITION, TURMOIL, AND TRIUMPH:  
INDIANAPOLIS EPISCOPALIANS CONFRONT THE 1960S AND 1970S

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## Introduction

### Theological Background to the Decades in Question

#### Consecration of a Church:

**“Blessed be thy name, O Lord God, for that it hath pleased thee to have thy habitation among the sons of men, and to dwell in the midst of the assembly of the saints upon the earth; Grant, we beseech thee, that in this place now set apart to thy service, thy holy name may be worshipped in truth and purity through all generations; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

Historians, politicians, members of the clergy, and sociologists have all commented on the fundamental changes that the 1960s and 1970s brought to the fabric of American society. However, what some commentators often fail to realize is the extent to which this period of turmoil, and the stories related to it, have their roots in the 1950s. After defeating both Germany and Japan in World War II, Americans believed that they could accomplish anything. A sense of optimism, deeply anchored in the nation's churches, pervaded the United States. The period between 1945 to 1960 was a time of “tranquillity and optimism” for the country's churches and of growing interest in religion. But underneath, there were problems. While Americans in the postwar world felt it important to be religious, what many sought after in the 1950s was a “general” religion, devoid of traditional denominational content. This led to a watering down of spiritual beliefs, which allowed for dramatic changes to occur within America's churches in the decades to follow.<sup>1</sup>

The 1960s grew out of this postwar world. The churches that had grown so rapidly during the 1950s found themselves faced with a whole slew of problems years after the decade of growth. External (national) and internal (denominational) pressures emerged that strained the very fabric of the nation's churches. Historian Sydney E.

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald B. Flowers, *Religion in Strange Times: The 1960s and 1970s* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984), 1-3; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York:

Ahlstrom, in his landmark book *A Religious History of the American People*, called the 1960s “a new stage in the long development of American Religious History.” At the same time, historian Richard Hofstadter called it “The Age of Rubbish.”<sup>2</sup>

The scientific innovations that marked the era allowed American Christianity to become devoid of both traditional spiritual content and denominational teachings because they gave rise to new theological innovations and assumptions. One of the leaders of this “new thought” was Rudolf Bultmann, a German New Testament scholar, who proposed “demythologizing” the New Testament in order to make it more acceptable to modern man.<sup>3</sup> Another German theologian came into prominence during this time as well. Dietrich Bonhoeffer rose to prominence within liberal Protestant circles in the postwar world. Bonhoeffer’s claim to fame was the writing he had done, while a prisoner in Nazi Germany, which dealt with the theme of battling injustice. Additionally, he placed a great deal of emphasis on Jesus, love, and working for the downtrodden and oppressed. These themes all played a formative role in the liberal theology that developed in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Another large contributor to this new form of Christianity was American theologian Paul Tillich. Throughout his writings, Tillich exposed a brand of liberal

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Oxford University Press, 1996), 17, 332.

<sup>2</sup> Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), Preface, 4; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), 1079.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1961). The controversial John Shelby Spong, Episcopal Bishop of Newark, who will be discussed later in this work, is well known as a Bultmannite. See Peter C. Moore, ed., *Can a Bishop be Wrong?: Ten Scholars Challenge John Shelby Spong* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1998), 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey B. Kelly and F. Burton Nelson, eds., *A Testament to Freedom: The Essential Writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1995), (Revised Edition); James F. Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 31, 121-122. Bonhoeffer was martyred by the Nazis just four weeks before the end of the war, but his “servant church” idea, as well as the works of Peter L. Berger, Gibson Winter, and Harvey Cox, came to have a large influence on the National Council of

Protestantism that seemed to be more in step with the modern world. He encouraged his readers to be who they were, no matter the consequences, and to stand up for themselves. In his classic work, *The Courage To Be*, Tillich wrote that sometimes people must confront the world they live in, in order to protect both their personal well being as well as that of their group. He also said that progress, though difficult at times, was needed if the gains of past advancements were to be made permanent. Tillich's brand of theology, of believing in oneself and fighting for progress, struck a chord with a generation of liberal ministers in search of a mission.<sup>5</sup>

This new brand of Protestantism made its way from the seminary classroom and into America's churches very quickly, thanks in large part to the legacy of the Social Gospel. The National Council of Churches, as the Federal Council of Churches before it, was a "guardian and advocate of the Social Gospel," and so served as a conduit for bringing these new ideas to America's Mainline Protestant churches. Known as the Seven Sisters, these churches adopted the new theology and carried it into American society. This was to have dramatic consequences for both them and the nation.<sup>6</sup>

The Episcopal Church, as part of the American Mainline, was affected by these ideas. The denomination has been described as "a living institution . . . with roots running deep in American history." Twelve presidents have been Episcopalians and two thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were members of the Church. People usually associate the Episcopal Church with old, wealthy, inter-connected families. Kit and Frederica Konolige, who have studied this aspect of the Church, call this portion of the denomination Episcopocrats. According to the Konoliges, this group is America's upper class and are "the wealthiest, most eastern, best educated and most

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Churches, the vanguard of the Protestant Establishment.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Tillich, *The Courage To Be* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952), 89-91, 109.

highly placed professionally of any Christian denomination in the United States.” During the Truman Administration, this group came into power at the national level, not only within the Church but also in politics. This would be a source of future problems for both the Church and the State in the years ahead, as both the denomination and the nation that it served confronted the issues of civil rights at home and war in Vietnam.<sup>7</sup>

But even as this ascendancy to power was occurring, during the late 1950s, sociologist Gerhard Lenski discovered in his Detroit Study that there was a strong indication that there was a growing weakness in terms of orthodoxy and devotionism in the Mainline churches. At the same time he also found a growing polarization between liberals and conservatives among all the denominations he studied. There was a struggle over purpose and meaning. Increasingly the clergy had one idea for the Church to follow, while the laity had another. This theological rift would also prove to be a problem.<sup>8</sup>

Tillich’s theology helped foster secularism, which in turn exacerbated Lenski’s findings. Secularization is the movement from the sacred to the profane. It has been viewed as both anti-Christian and pro-Christian, as well as being a neutral event. The relationship between the Church (sacred) and State (profane) is “many sided” and

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<sup>6</sup>Findlay, *National Council*, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory: America’s Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 3-27, 51, 81, 393; David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press, 1993), 177; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 103.

<sup>8</sup>Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion’s Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1961), 53, 264; Jeffrey K. Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), 5-6.

An early example of this debate, which was already emerging in the 1950s, dealt with the concept of faith. The liberal theological view, led by Paul Tillich, said that faith was important, but provided an illusive answer in terms of just what one should have faith in. Bernard Meland, who argued that the type of faith espoused by Tillich was really no faith at all, made the more conservative response. Meland worried that liberal Protestantism was not facing up to problems in its theology, which would eventually cost it an opportunity to do much good. See Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1956) and Bernard E. Meland, *Faith and Culture* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972). Meland’s book was first published in 1953.

confusing, as at times the two are at odds with one another, while finding common cause on other issues. This tension is increased in America because Christianity has been seen as both attacking the status quo and maintaining it. Additionally, the nation's churches in the 1950s were called upon to defend the American way of life, including its economic philosophy. This became problematic for the churches because capitalism breeds secularization. In modern nations, the State supports the economy, not the Church. This leads to denominations becoming like corporations and needing a bureaucracy to run them, which in turn breeds consumerism in religion, forcing churches to market themselves. This requires them to get rid of "undesirable" elements of their faith and search for the "socially" correct view. Harvey Cox's *Secular City* is a "manifesto" for this movement towards watering down traditional doctrine.<sup>9</sup>

Because of secularism, the Church, as a middle class institution, felt compelled to "reconcile itself to . . . secular society, rather than spurn it." Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney describe secularism as "a corrosive influence upon organized religion." Secularization caused the Church to have to compete with secular organizations and activities, what Charles Page called the "basketballization" of religion, because of all the programs that were started to attract and keep members. New members brought in by these new programs often were different from the "old guard," causing resentment to develop within the congregation.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1951), 1, 6-7; Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969), 106-109, 129-131, 138-147, 166; Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York: MacMillan, 1965).

As David Lotz points out in *Altered Landscapes*, however, though secular theology proliferated during the 1960s, so did conservative. The problem for conservative theologians was that they were defending that which was orthodox and known, while their liberal counterparts were advancing such new ideas as God being dead. The press chose to discuss the new rather than the old. See David W. Lotz, ed., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 227, for more, as well as Flowers, *Strange Times*, 20.

<sup>10</sup>Nicholas J. Demerath III and Phillip E. Hammond, *Religion in Social Context: Tradition and Transition* (New York: Random House, 1969), 72, 182-184; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American*

But bland doctrine and tension in the pews were not the only problems for the Church in its attempt to accommodate itself to the world. Secularization in America eventually produced the “God is dead” movement. This philosophy was grounded in the belief that religious ideals had to be subjugated to a secular purpose; that it was time for a tolerant, secular, science-based religion. It put a premium on the social actions that Jesus performed, rather than His teachings on salvation. The movement was clergy inspired, and found little support within the laity, but did capture headlines. In 1967, several Episcopal bishops came out in favor of the philosophy.<sup>11</sup>

These two things, the need to reconcile to secular society and the “death” of God, marked early contrasts between liberals and conservatives. While liberals wanted to make their faith relevant to the world around them, even if that meant shedding ancient doctrines, conservatives wanted to preserve their faith from the world. The clergy wanted to take God’s love to the world, while laity wanted to find comfort from the world in their churches. Both concepts have confused the Church.<sup>12</sup>

Though it is a worldwide phenomenon, secularization is different in America than elsewhere. In the United States, despite it, churches still have a place in society. In Europe, churches are official, yet have been marginalized by secularism. Conservatives were active in attacking the effects of secularism. Perhaps the best response was penned by Bernard E. Meland in his *The Secularization of Modern Cultures*. In the book, Meland relates that secularism is a worldwide phenomenon brought on by the advent of liberalism. Traditionally, he argues, societies have viewed themselves as coming from a

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*Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> Flowers, *Strange Times*, 18-20; James Gilbert, *Another Chance: Postwar America, 1945-1968* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 254; Robert S. Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 122-123, 136-142; Kelley, *Conservative*, 19-20; Roof, *Mainline*, 11; Demerath, *Tradition*, 124-127; David E. Sumner, *The Episcopal Church's History: 1945-1985* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1987), 46.



religious tradition. Secularism rejects that heritage and puts in its place science. The problem with this, according to Meland, is that secularists are simply replacing faith in God with faith in science. They are not really getting rid of faith as a component in society as they claim. The problem with rabid secularization is that it destroys the moral base of a society. Eli Lilly, perhaps the most prominent of Indianapolis's lay Episcopalians, was worried that this was going to happen in the Circle City. He described secularization as a "calamitous tendency . . . to divorce religion from life."<sup>13</sup>

The Episcopal Church took hold of this new liberalism and came to epitomize it. Within the denomination Bishop James Pike personified it. Pike started his priesthood in New York, but was eventually promoted to the position of Bishop of California in 1958. In 1960, he said that the virgin birth of Christ was probably a myth. He followed this pronouncement with the publication of *A Time for Christian Candor*, which was published in 1964. In the book, he called for "more belief in less beliefs." This meant getting rid of the Trinity and the virgin birth altogether. His outspoken, liberal views caused him to be censured in 1966 by the denomination's House of Bishops. He resigned because the body refused to try him for heresy, thus denying him another forum to proclaim his views, commenting that he believed the Church to be out of step with society.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 99; Flowers, *Strange Times*, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 108; Wade Clark Roof, *Community and Commitment: Religious Plausibility in a Liberal Protestant Church* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 29-30; Ephraim Radner and George R. Sumner, eds., *Reclaiming Faith: Essays on Orthodoxy in the Episcopal Church and the Baltimore Declaration* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 3; Eli Lilly, *The Little Church on the Circle* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1957), 16; Bernard E. Meland, *The Secularization of Modern Cultures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

As the Bishop of Ely, Stephen Sykes, told the author, ". . . the United States has gone so far down this road [secularization]. It has not happened in the same way in all other cultures." Bishop Stephen Sykes, correspondence with author, 16 September 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Radner and Sumner, *Faith*, 40-41; Demerath, *Tradition*, 169-170; John Booty, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publishers, 1988), 19-20; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 46-47, 97-98, 127-129.

But Pike was neither alone, nor produced in a vacuum. Liberal activist clergy like him were educated that way. Bishop Paul Moore, who played an important role in both Indianapolis and the National Church during these years, learned theology from Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr at seminary. He also worked with the future Bishop Pike early in his own priesthood, and was influenced by the same worker-priest movement that had an impact on the Catholic activist/priest Daniel Berrigan. Some liberal clergy of the Pike/Moore mold actually picked fights with their congregations over issues. Those who did in the Episcopal Church did not run the risk of losing their pulpit, but did risk looking at empty pews on Sunday morning.<sup>15</sup>

Liberalism affected the Episcopal Church due to growth, civil rights, Vietnam, and theological innovations. Though there has been much discussion and many books written about these issues in the nation and its churches, and even work on their effect on particular denominations, there has been little study done at the local level. A survey of the literature reveals no books and only one dissertation that focus on the diocesan level during these important years. There are no works that even attempt to examine how the individual parishes of the Episcopal Church reacted to these issues. Indianapolis is perfect for such a study. It is a representative “mid-sized American city” in terms of religious visibility and viability. Additionally, the Diocese of Indianapolis was representative of the conflicts and struggles that were also going on within the National

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Pike’s career is actually a very tragic tale. He was born in 1913, raised Roman Catholic, and eventually became agnostic. He was a lawyer and while serving in the Navy during World War II, became an Episcopalian. He became a priest in 1946. While his book was causing a controversy in the Church, it was discovered that he had been having an affair. He was divorced from his wife and became an alcoholic. His mistress and son both committed suicide and his daughter attempted it. After he left the Church, Pike remarried and went to Israel to study. He died there in 1969, after getting lost in the desert.

<sup>15</sup> Roof, *Community and Commitment*, 109; Lotz, *Altered*, 25; Demerath, *Tradition*, 193-194; Paul Moore, *Presences: A Bishop’s Life in the City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 93, 98-101, 105-106.

Demerath and Hammond point out in their book that a Baptist minister doing what many Episcopalian ministers did during these years, would have been fired by his congregation. Unfortunately for many Episcopal congregations, this was a luxury that they did not have. In his book, Moore remembers Pike as being “eclectic” and not wanting the Church to grow stagnant by holding on to the past.

Church. It had a strong bishop to lead it, named John Craine, an extremely wealthy and influential lay leadership headed by Eli Lilly, and a new generation of priests, some who garnered national recognition, who spanned the theological spectrum. And during the 1960s and 1970s, they all came together to confront these issues in the Indianapolis.

Arthur James Kelly claims that the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island is a microcosm of the denomination, but the same claim can be made for the Diocese of Indianapolis, and more specifically, just the churches in and around the Circle City. It is here that the study of this time of tradition, transition, turmoil, and triumph begins.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Arthur James Kelly, "The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes Have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long Island" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 14; Jon C. Teafor, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 63; Arthur E. Farnsley II, "The Religious Landscape of Indianapolis," *Research Notes From Faith and Community: Indianapolis Religion Briefing Paper Number 1*, The Polis Center, February 1997. Farnsley goes on to point out that "Indianapolis is not a microcosm of the United States" for various reasons, even though it is representative.

## Chapter One

### Growth in Postwar Episcopal Indianapolis

#### For Plenty:

**“O most merciful Father, who of thy gracious goodness hast heard the devout prayers of thy Church, and turned our dearth and scarcity into plenty: We give thee humble thanks for this thy special bounty; beseeching thee to continue thy loving-kindness unto us, that our land may yield us her fruits of increase, to thy glory and our comfort; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

In the fall of 1949, Indianapolis's Episcopal Church of the Advent launched a drive “to complete the building fund.” The congregation, located at 33rd and Meridian streets, had been started in 1919 to minister to Indianapolis's growing Northside. Following World War II, they decided to build a new church to accommodate their growth. The congregation settled on “an English-type structure (a village church) with seating capacity of approximately 300 people.” As work progressed on the new church, the congregation decided to give it a different name, and “Trinity” was chosen. In the cornerstone of their new church were placed such items as a copy of the Constitution, an American flag, a Bible, and a Prayer Book. A letter from the congregation was also included, which summed up the feeling of the times. It read:

Not to be opened before 2500 AD

To the People of the New Planet:

Greetings:

We hope that you will learn much from the Christian faith of which this church is a permanent and lasting symbol. As you and the people of the United States work together, the message of the cross, the Bible and the prayer book will expand far beyond the confines of the earth and reach the new lands and the new planets in God's great universe.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Georgianne Strange, *Trinity Episcopal Church: 1919-1969* (Indianapolis: Trinity Episcopal Church, 1969), 44-47, 54-55; Joyce Marks Booth, ed., *A History of the Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis, 1838-1988, Sesquicentennial Edition* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1988), 182; *Indianapolis Times*, 18 May 1948 and 10 January 1953; *Indianapolis News*, 14 April 1951; *Indianapolis Star*, 3 December 1955.

Trinity included among its parishioners at this time such Indianapolis notables as R. Hartley Sherwood, Dr. G. H. A. Clowes, and Lyman S. Ayres. All three of these men had a hand in the construction process of the church, most notably Dr. Clowes, whose family financed the tower. Construction was also underwritten by grants from the Lilly Endowment. Sherwood was president of the Central Indiana Coal Company, Clowes worked at Eli Lilly and Company, and Ayres was president of the L.S. Ayres department store chain. The latter two men were neighbors to Eli Lilly in the Crows Nest area

Such optimism was not uncommon across the United States in the postwar years. The 1950s were a time of technological progress, from cars and appliances, to vaccines and houses. Progress and growth were the orders of the day. During this time Indianapolis became a metropolitan area. Between 1960 and 1976, Indianapolis underwent the construction of portions of the national interstate highway system, which allowed for accelerated suburbanization. The highway system had a very large impact on the city as “a magnet for development,” and it made it easier for Protestants, in particular, to drive past one church of their own denomination in order to worship with their social peers in another. This presented a challenge to the Indianapolis churches. The central city’s population grew by 11.5 percent, while the suburban ring around it, within Marion County, grew by 78 percent. Additionally, most of the city’s actual growth came as a result of annexation. New neighborhood and suburban churches began thriving, at the expense of those that remained downtown.<sup>2</sup>

Along with the construction of new homes and roads, the 1950s were also viewed as a time of religious revival. Churches benefited from the revival and the postwar baby boom. Families with children tend to be the most active in churches. Rising birthrates and accelerated residential construction caused a time of nearly unknown growth and prosperity for congregations of all denominations, including the Episcopal Church. By 1959, the once struggling Diocese of Indianapolis could boast of having 9,600 confirmed

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of Indianapolis, while Sherwood lived on Meridian Street.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 247; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 318; William G. Colman, *Cities, Suburbs, and States: Governing and Financing Urban America* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 73; Gibson Winter, *The Suburban Captivity of the Churches: An Analysis of Protestant Responsibility in the Expanding Metropolis* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), 78-79; Richard M. Bernard, ed., *Snowbelt Cities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 138-140; Edwin L. Becker, *From Sovereign to Servant: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1912-1987* (Indianapolis: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1987), 68-69; *Indianapolis Times*, 1 June 1949; *Indianapolis News*, 28 October 1950; *Indianapolis Star*, 28 October 1950.

members. Growth in its Indianapolis churches proved to be even more dramatic. In 1936, there were only 2,460 confirmed members in the city. By 1970, that number would reach 8,882. It was a time for new leadership, churches, and programs.<sup>3</sup>

Just who would lead growing congregations in this era of optimism was an important question. Eli Lilly, Indianapolis's leading Episcopalian and a man who put a premium on leadership, sought to provide an answer to it for the Diocese of Indianapolis. In his history of Christ Church, *The Little Church on the Circle*, he wrote in the introduction, "the great lesson that has been learned in this study is the *paramount importance of leadership*. . . . *Our vestrymen must realize always that their primary duty is to provide rectors possessing this priceless quality.*"<sup>4</sup>

In 1951, Lilly brought John Craine to Christ Church from a parish in Seattle. The two had first met at the 1948 General Convention, when the Diocese of Indianapolis's delegation had been seated behind the delegation from the Diocese of Olympia. Craine was a young rector with a family, perfect for Christ Church. Lilly worked hard to bring him to the church, over the objections of half the congregation, who preferred a local candidate, because he felt Craine to be the stronger leader of the two men. Craine, and his friend and fellow priest Rev. Frederic P. Williams, who came with

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<sup>3</sup> James F. Findlay, *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 12-13; David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 157; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 58-59; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 98; Etan S. Diamond and Arthur E. Farnsley II, "The Changing Face of Indianapolis Religion," *Research Notes from Faith and Community: Indianapolis Religion Briefing Paper Number 1*, The Polis Center, February 1997.

Growth was not limited to just Indianapolis, it was a national phenomenon for the Episcopal Church. In Connecticut, church officials discovered that they had few churches and many people in some areas and many churches and few people in others due to suburban growth. The 1950s marked a time of church building for the Diocese of Florida. For more, see Nelson Rollin Burr, *The Story of the Diocese of Connecticut: A New Branch of the Vine* (Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing Company, 1962), 186; George R. Bentley, *The Episcopal Diocese of Florida: 1892-1975* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989), 180-183.

<sup>4</sup>Eli Lilly, *The Little Church on the Circle* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1957), vii. Emphasis in the

him to Indianapolis, knew that there was much work to be done at the church, not just in making the congregation accept them, but also in fixing up the church plant, which had been neglected. The new rector told the *Indianapolis News* that because of its downtown location, Christ Church must always be prepared to minister to people of all denominations at all times of the day. Craine's relationship to Lilly was "a special one, they held each other in great esteem and friendship." Even as the new rector brought stability and growth to the church, Lilly became aware of demographic changes in Indianapolis that threatened its survival. People were moving away from downtown. He knew that dramatic action had to be taken in order to keep Christ Church from following them to the suburbs.<sup>5</sup>

In 1953, Christ Church and the Diocese of Indianapolis received a \$1 million gift from a "faithful and devout communicant," later revealed as Eli Lilly. The gift stipulated that income would be used to maintain the church in repair and continue its ministry to the community if the congregation could not afford to do so. Lilly also suggested that the church become the diocese's cathedral. He wrote that Christ Church is "a visible witness for Jesus Christ and . . . a symbol that the spiritual values of His revelation endure while all material values perish." A special meeting of the vestry was held at the diocese convention at Terre Haute to accept designation of Christ Church as the Pro-Cathedral of the diocese. The church became the cathedral in an elaborate ceremony in September

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original.

<sup>5</sup> James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 226; *Indianapolis News*, 4 February 1950; *Indianapolis Times*, 24 January 1954; Lilly, *Little Church*, 306; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 101; Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999.

Heightening Lilly's concern was the movement of several other churches from the downtown during the 1950s. Meridian Street Methodist, First Baptist, Second Presbyterian, and St. Paul's Episcopal had all left by decade's end. That Lilly considered Craine to be good leader for the congregation is reflected in a resolution of thanks that he authored in the vestry, commending the rector for "fine" leadership. See *Indianapolis Times*, 3 November 1957; *Indianapolis News*, 18 January 1955; Vestry meeting, 5 June 1952, Vestry meeting minutes, 1950-1956, Box 1/1, Archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library (henceforth, CCC Archives).



1954.<sup>6</sup>

Christ Church was not the only parish in search of a good leader as the decade started. Trinity, whose congregation had just moved into its new building, faced the same dilemma. The Rev. Laman H. Bruner, who had guided the congregation through the construction process, and had been with the church since 1947, announced that he was leaving Indianapolis for a parish in New York. In 1953 the vestry selected the Rev. G. Ernest Lynch to replace him. The fit between parish and rector proved to be a good one, as Lynch served the congregation for the next twenty-five years.<sup>7</sup>

Growth, as well as finding good leaders, was a key issue for the Diocese of Indianapolis during the 1950s. Though Craine and Williams had been jokingly warned that they were heading to a “mission district,” in fact, new Episcopal churches were appearing all over the Indianapolis metropolitan area. In 1953, a small group of Episcopalians from Christ Church founded St. Mark’s Episcopal Church in Plainfield. The following year it called Rev. William Casady as its vicar. The congregation purchased the old Christian Church in Plainfield in April 1954. By the end of the year, it had 175 members and a strong budget. Casady remained with the congregation until 1957, by which time it had achieved parish status. Also in April 1954, St. Michael’s of Noblesville became the latest mission congregation in the diocese, and the first in Hamilton County. They soon began searching for a suitable site for a church. These years also saw former missions become parishes. In June 1954, St. George’s, located on the city’s Southside, under the direction of Rev. Earl L. Conner, was admitted as a parish.

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<sup>6</sup> Vestry meeting, 4 May 1953, Vestry meeting minutes, 1950-1956, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Indianapolis Star*, 4 May 1953; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 96; Madison, *Lilly*, 227; *Indianapolis News*, 28 April 1954.

Christ Church became the Pro-Cathedral of the diocese, that is “a parish church used as a cathedral, rather than a building specifically constructed for that purpose,” and Craine’s title went from “rector” to “dean.”

<sup>7</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 182; *Indianapolis News*, 27 September 1947 and 28 October 1947; *Indianapolis Times*, 7 June 1953; *Indianapolis Star*, 10 January 1953.



Two years later, in 1956, St. Philip's, near the heart of the city at 702 North West Street, became one as well, in large part because of the leadership of the Rev. Henry Hill.<sup>8</sup>

To ensure Christ Church's viability after he was gone, Lilly made a dramatic move in early 1955. He and his wife Ruth gave the church 2,000 shares of Eli Lilly and Company stock. He told Craine that with the gift, the Lillys would no longer contribute to the church's "current operating budget." The dean established a separate fund to administer the money, using the dividends earned in lieu of the Lillys' annual tithe. He promised Lilly that after he and Ruth died, the money would be transferred to the church's general endowment. Lilly, in turn, sponsored a resolution of gratitude for Craine, on behalf of the vestry, for all the work he had done for the congregation.<sup>9</sup>

Still, Christ Church's finances worried Lilly. In order to keep its budget in the black, he decided in the fall of 1955 to cancel a debt that the church owed him. He had loaned Christ Church \$140,000 for building repairs. He requested that the vestry pay him back \$50,000 now, and that in return, he would cancel \$50,000 of the remaining debt. Two years later, he canceled the remaining \$40,000 as well. In large part because of Lilly's generous acts of stewardship, the parish flourished.<sup>10</sup>

In February 1955 more growth occurred when the diocese announced that Warren and Linton Atkinson had given a gift of land in their Devon Woods subdivision

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*Indianapolis Times*, 19 June 1954; *Plainfield Messenger*, 4 November 1965 and 14 January 1970; *Church Militant*, April 1954, June 1954, December 1954; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 177, 207, 209. According to Booth, there was some discussion about whether or not Hamilton County could support two Episcopal congregations or not. By the time that St. Michael's was started, there was already talk within the diocese for founding a church in Carmel.

When a congregation is first organized within the Episcopal Church, it is granted mission status. It is not recognized as a parish until it proves to the diocese that its membership is stable and can financially support all aspects of the church. Until this happens, the mission receives financial help from the diocese and its priest is called a vicar, rather than rector.

<sup>9</sup> Vestry meetings, 3 February 1955 and 9 February 1955, Vestry meeting minutes, 1950-1956, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Vestry meeting, 2 October 1955, Vestry meeting minutes, 1950-1956, and Vestry meeting, 10 December

for the purpose of a church. The Atkinson brothers, who were not only developers but also Episcopalians, had started building their various Devington Communities in the summer of 1953 in the area bounded by 38th Street, Sherman Drive, 56th Street, and Shadeland Avenue. In June 1957, the Trinity supported mission congregation, which was meeting at the Indiana National Bank on 38th Street, conducted a groundbreaking ceremony on the land at 46th Street and Emerson Avenue. It soon dubbed itself “St. Alban’s,” after the first English Christian martyr, and set about planning for its future.<sup>11</sup>

St. Matthew’s of Irvington announced that Rev. Allen M. Miller, who had been at the church since 1951, was leaving for a new parish in Virginia. The congregation was sorry to see him go because he had helped them achieve parish status, and oversaw their growth to the point where they were “bulging at the seams,” and “holding three services” to accommodate their members. In April 1955, the parish welcomed its new rector, Rev. Ralph E. Dille. The first problem that confronted him was having to decide what to do with a congregation that was too big for its building and a church plant that was “hemmed in by houses.” In November, the parish announced that it had purchased land for a new church, outside of Irvington, but still on Indianapolis’s Eastside. By the fall of 1957, construction of the building had started.<sup>12</sup>

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1957, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Vestry Meeting, 9 January 1956, 1956 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Meeting Minutes 1950-1959 Box, Trinity Archives; *Church Militant*, February 1955, June 1956; *Indianapolis Star*, 14 June 1953, 22 June 1957, and 12 December 1982; *Indianapolis News*, 21 December 1957 and 17 June 1967; *Trinity News*, Advent 1971, v15 n1, Newsletters: Trinity News 1956-1973 Box, Trinity Archives; Gary Fadely, correspondence with author, 31 May 1999.

<sup>12</sup> Vestry meetings, 21 January 1955, 5 February 1955, 26 February 1955, 28 March 1955, 5 October 1956, 8 March 1957, 5 July 1957, 6 September 1957, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 Folder, St. Matthew’s Archives; Rev. Carol Mader (10 o’clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; *Indianapolis News*, 18 January 1957; *Indianapolis Star*, 20 July 1957 and 12 April 1958; *Church Militant*, February 1955, April 1955, November 1955; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 172.

According to the 10 o’clock Group at St. Matthew’s, what eventually became their new church was at first only supposed to be a mission that the Irvington based congregation was going to sponsor on Indianapolis’s eastside. For whatever reason, however, the decision was eventually made for everyone to move to the new building and to sell the Irvington church.

St. Paul's, which had moved to a new location at 61st and Meridian streets from the downtown area following the war, was also concerned with growth in the surrounding community. The church was given a gift of ten acres of land in Carmel by two of its parishioners, Lowell and Marguerite Ferger. The decision was quickly made for this site to be used as a future Episcopal Church, dubbed "the Carmel Project." The mission used as its base congregation St. Paul's members who already lived in the Carmel area. For a year and a half, while they were waiting for their church to be built, the congregation converted the Carmel High School gym into a church every Sunday.<sup>13</sup>

During this time as well, St. Paul's also reached a decision on how to handle its own growth. In 1960, they purchased more land across 61st Street to serve as the home of a church education building. Many young families were attracted to the church because of its youth and music programs and the parish was "large and thriving." The needed project was funded in part by a \$50,000 gift from the Lilly Endowment and given authorization and support from the diocese. Within a few months of this announcement, the church also gave notice that it was receiving a new rector, the Rev. Russell Staines from Seattle, Washington. Staines would prove to be an ideal fit for the growing congregation, remaining at the church well into the 1970s. He is remembered as "sophisticated, reserved though quite comfortable at social occasions, and . . . gave rather intellectual sermons."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> October 1956 *Positiv*, 1, Positivs 1950s box, St. Paul's Archives; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 132-133; *Church Militant*, June 1956; Vestry meetings, 23 July, 13 August, 27 August, 20 October, 6 December 1956 and 10 February 1957, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 1: 1956-1965, Archives of St. Christopher's.

<sup>14</sup> Vestry meetings, 10 January 1960 and 13 June 1960, Vestry minutes January 1960-December 1960 and Vestry meeting, 11 April 1961, Vestry minutes 1961, St. Paul's Archives; Phyllis A. Dexter, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999; Sandy Wagner, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999.

St. Paul's had formed because of the Civil War and its first church home had been at the corner of New York and Illinois streets. By 1940, the congregation had started to discuss the possibility of moving the church farther north, to be closer to where their membership lived. World War II delayed construction plans and the new church did not open its doors at 61st and Meridian streets until 1947. See *Indianapolis News*, 8 February 1931, 18 July 1941, 11 February 1946, 8 June 1946, 12 October 1946, 18 October 1947; *Indianapolis Star*, 5 February 1940, 5 January 1942, 6 June 1943, 22 January 1946, 15 November 1947;

In the fall 1956, the diocese announced its own expansion plans. It wanted to recruit more clergy, get them trained, build new and renovate old churches, and pay the ministers better, while at the same time establishing a better pension fund. Eli Lilly had a hand in this as well. In many ways, the pension fund was his idea. His personal money had supported it since 1950, when he gave \$78,000 to establish it. In December, the diocese announced that the Lilly Endowment was giving \$200,000 towards achieving the plan.<sup>15</sup>

In October 1956, St. Christopher's parish was founded on St. Paul's Carmel land. The church provided the diocese with an unparalleled success story as the year came to a close. In just three short months, the newest Carmel church went from an idea based on a ten-acre gift, to a thriving parish, entirely skipping the mission phase of church development. Meanwhile, St. Alban's was busy organizing itself into a mission and St. Michael's in Noblesville purchased a former Christian Science building for use as their new church. While there was much to celebrate in these churches, one of their number was also in the midst of deliberation. St. George's was considering what its options were, given that its neighborhood was increasingly becoming industrialized. The congregation debated the pros and cons of both moving and staying.<sup>16</sup>

In December 1956, Craine was named bishop coadjutor of the diocese. This

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Booth, *Indianapolis*, 174-175.

The Senior Warden of St. Paul's during this expansion phase was Byron Hollett. Hollett was a Lilly neighbor in the Crows Nest area of Indianapolis, an attorney with the law firm of Baker and Daniels, and a board member of the Lilly Endowment. St. Paul's was blessed with another "Lilly man" during this time period as well, Nicholas Noyes. Noyes, in addition to working at Eli Lilly and Company was also a resident of Crows Nest. The vestry minutes during these years continually make reference to gifts of Lilly stock coming into the parish. For more on Hollett, see Madison, *Lilly*, 219. For more on Noyes, see *Indianapolis Star*, 12 December 1977. For more on the Eli Lilly and Company, see E. J. Kahn, Jr., *All in a Century: The First 100 Years of Eli Lilly and Company* (Indianapolis: Eli Lilly and Company, 1989). For more on the arrival of Staines at the church, see *Indianapolis Times*, 18 July 1960,

<sup>15</sup> Vestry meeting, 12 December 1950, Vestry meeting minutes, 1950-1956, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Church Militant*, October 1956, v3 n4, 8-9; December 1956, v3 n5, 16; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998.

insured, in the opinion of Eli Lilly, that the next leader of the diocese would be a good man, but it created the need for finding a new leader for Christ Church. Again, Lilly rose to the occasion. In January 1957, he was named chair of the search committee for a new dean. He wrote to churches in Texas, New York, California, Washington State, and Washington, D.C., asking for nominations and advice about what characteristics Christ Church's next dean should have. Age and acceptability to the congregation were the two major factors listed by the respondents. Lilly had already made it clear to them that he wanted a leader.<sup>17</sup>

In April 1957, Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., announced that he had accepted the unanimous election of Christ Church's vestry. Moore was from a wealthy family, a Yale graduate, had been a Marine during World War II, and served a parish in Jersey City, New Jersey, from 1949 to 1957. He was a liberal ahead of his time. Lilly liked Moore because of the work he had done in Jersey City and thought that Moore was exactly what Christ Church needed. A father and son relationship soon developed between the two men.<sup>18</sup>

For Moore's part, he realized that he was entering into a difficult situation. He was replacing a popular leader who had just become bishop of the diocese and whose seat was in the same city. But he found Bishop Craine to be "a great spirit" and someone who supported him totally. When a group of Craine's supporters at Christ Church objected to some of the plans the new dean presented to them, the bishop came to the church and

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<sup>16</sup> *Church Militant*, October 1956, December 1956.

<sup>17</sup> *Church Militant*, December 1956; Vestry meeting, 15 January 1957, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Lay Committee: Rector Search Committee 1957, Folder 1/4, Box 1/3, CCC Archives.

<sup>18</sup> *Church Militant*, April 1957; Madison, Lilly, 229-231; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999. At the same time that Christ Church was making their initial offer to Moore, Lilly took the opportunity to once again sponsor a resolution of thanks to Craine. See Vestry meeting, 21 February 1957, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

“gave them hell.”<sup>19</sup>

Also that year, St. Alban's announced that it was calling its first vicar, the Rev. Robert K. Bernhard, an assistant priest at Trinity. St. Matthew's announced to the diocese that the first building of its new church plant was to be St. Nicholas' chapel. St. Michael's announced that only a year after buying a larger church building, they were being forced to add a chapel addition to accommodate their growth. St. Mark's of Plainfield became a parish, and St. Christopher's, under the leadership of Rev. Donald J. Davis, announced that it was ready to start construction on their church.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1957, the diocese purchased a horse barn and some surrounding acreage from the estate of Glen Caldwell on Lantern Road. The purpose was to create a mission on the city's Northeast side, an area where future growth was expected to occur. St. Paul's was placed in charge of organizing the mission. Rev. John Vruwink told the twenty organizing families that “we don't know what will happen; it really depends upon all of you.” In October, the mission congregation of the Church of the Nativity was started in the old barn. By the following year the congregation was growing and was looking to expand its mission. In June 1959, Nativity received a \$6,000 gift from someone outside of Indiana who had heard about the church's desire to expand its facilities.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.

<sup>20</sup> *Church Militant*, February 1957, April 1957, June 1957.

<sup>21</sup> Vestry meetings, 12 March 1958, 9 April 1958, 18 May 1958, Vestry minutes January 1958-December 1959, and October 1957 *Positiv*, 1, *Positivs* 1950s box, St. Paul's Archives; Rev. John Vruwink to Zaisers, letter, 9 April 1957, Nativity Archives; *Indianapolis News*, 27 September 1957; *Indianapolis Times*, 14 April 1958 and 17 October 1960; *Church Militant*, October 1957, October 1958, June 1959; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 166.

According to Walter Snead, a longtime member of Nativity, many of the people who helped organize the new church did so because they felt that it took them too long to get to church at St. Paul's, especially in the winter. Snead also gives a lot of credit to John Webb, who was senior warden of St. Paul's vestry during the late 1950's (and a Lilly man) for garnering support for the mission. L. Ramon Secrest, a structural engineer at Lilly, was part of the team from the company that put the plans together to

In February 1958, Rev. Dille of St. Matthew's expressed his vision of the congregation's mission. Though they were in the middle of a building project, Dille foresaw a time when the church would be called upon to expand its ministry further into the community. He told the vestry that one day he hoped that St. Matthew's would sponsor missions in Beech Grove and Greenfield. In the 1950s, with the spirit of optimism prevailing, anything seemed possible.<sup>22</sup>

The same month Dille was expressing his vision to the congregation, St. Alban's was dedicated by the diocese and was given more land by the Atkinsons. Also in February 1958, 128 Episcopalians started meeting at St. Andrew's Lutheran Church in Speedway. This group hoped to form the denomination's first mission on Indianapolis's Westside. They were tired of having to drive so far to go to church on Sunday. They formed St. John's, which was quickly granted mission status by a sympathetic diocese. The new mission was placed under the direction of Christ Church and started meeting at SS. Constantine and Elena Romanian Orthodox Church. After moving into a local school for a time, the congregation was soon ready to purchase land on which to build a church. Headed by Rev. John L. Lowe, St. John's purchased nearly eight acres of land at 5625 West 30th Street in 1959. The building was finished in 1960 and the church was prepared to minister to the Speedway community, including the Indiana Girls School. By 1964, Lowe had been replaced by George L. Evans as vicar of the mission. Rev. Evans believed his job was to turn the mission into a parish. He gave himself three years to accomplish this goal, despite knowing that his young congregation had little extra money

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transform the barn into a church. See Walter Snead's "Reflections" and L. Ramon Secrest to Rev. Donald Jones, letter, 8 September 1997, Nativity Archives.

<sup>22</sup> Vestry meeting, 7 February 1958, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.

While there is no mention of a mission to Beech Grove in the vestry minutes, St. Matthew's did discuss launching missions to Greenfield and to Irvington in 1968. Ironically, Irvington had been home to the church from 1913 until they had moved to their new church in the late 1950s. See Vestry meetings, 5 April 1968 and 10 November 1968, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.



to spend to make the church self-sufficient.<sup>23</sup>

Not all ambitions were realized of course. In September 1958, as children returned to school in Indianapolis and young men and women headed back to college, the vestry of St. Paul's had an idea. They wanted to establish a Canterbury House on the campus of Butler University, so that Episcopal students would have a place to gather and take comfort in their faith. The vestry discussed the idea with representatives of Trinity and contacted Craine and the president of Butler. While the college had no objections, the diocese did. Craine told the vestry that while he supported the idea, the diocese did not have the money needed to fund the program. After checking its finances, the parish decided that it could not go it alone, so the idea was dropped.<sup>24</sup>

By 1959, the Diocese of Indianapolis was the fourth fastest growing Episcopal diocese in the nation. And this growth was not limited to just the Circle City. In 1954, the church of St. Michael's and All Angels (Evansville) was founded. In 1955, St. Matthew's (Rushville) began, followed by St. Peter's (Lebanon), St. Luke's (Shelbyville), and Good Shepherd (West Lafayette) in 1956. St. Thomas (Franklin) was started in 1958, followed by St. David's (Bean Blossom) and All Saints (Seymour) in 1959. This growth was the result of the hard work of Bishop Richard Kirchhoffer, who retired in February. When Kirchhoffer had been named bishop of the diocese in 1939, there had been fourteen parishes and ten missions. Upon his retirement, there were

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<sup>23</sup> *Indianapolis Star*, 30 April 1960; *Indianapolis News*, 17 March 1962 and 11 June 1964; *Church Militant*, February 1958, April 1958, June 1959, December 1961; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 219-221; Rose Lane, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999. Rev. Evans' goal was not realized until 1989, when the thirty-year-old mission finally became a parish. See *Indianapolis News*, 28 January 1989.

<sup>24</sup> Vestry meetings, 21 September 1958 and 28 September 1958, Vestry minutes January 1958-December 1959, St. Paul's Archives.

Craine's reluctance to participate in the program may have arisen because of an event that occurred prior to his arrival in Indianapolis. In 1946, the Diocese of Indianapolis and the Diocese of Northern Indiana attempted to start an Episcopal college in Danville, Indiana. The venture was a failure and the school closed in 1951. See Robert J. Center, *Our Heritage: A History of the First Seventy-Five Years of the Diocese of Northern Indiana* (South Bend: Peterson Printing Company, 1973), 36-40.



twenty-six parishes and seventeen missions. In February, Eli Lilly seconded Craine's nomination as bishop with the comment "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, especially if it's a Craine!" Craine's tenure as bishop would be marked by more growth and new challenges, all stemming from the foundation laid by Kirchhoffer's twenty-year episcopate. Craine's vision for what had been called a "missionary district" when he first arrived in Indianapolis was broad in its scope. He was the undisputed leader of the diocese, became a leader within the House of Bishops, and is still remembered as "gracious and kind," "a great leader," and as "a giant" forty years later.<sup>25</sup>

In the late 1950s, the Episcopal Church started to experiment increasingly in urban work as part of this period of growth. In part, this was by design. The National Church was simply expanding into a new area. However, on the local level, this was not always the case. Sometimes, as in the case of All Saints, located at 16th Street and Central Avenue, the changes were prompted by necessity. Prior to the 1950s, the church was known within the diocese for two things: It had once served as the cathedral of the diocese and it was the Anglo-Catholic center of worship in the city. This reputation caused several Low Church-minded priests to leave the parish, further encouraging High Church worship. The Rev. Frank V.H. Carthy arrived at All Saints in 1956. Carthy brought to the church his own brand of Oxford Movement-inspired, Anglo-Catholic

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<sup>25</sup> *Indianapolis News*, 13 January 1959 and 9 February 1959; *Indianapolis Star*, 9 February 1959; *Church Militant*, February 1959; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 100, 102, 123, 148, 154, 190, 194, 214, 216, 218, 228; Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999; Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999; Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999.

Craine had learned much during his time at Christ Church and brought with him to the job of bishop a Lilly-inspired belief in the importance of leadership. See *Church Militant*, December 1957.

The Indianapolis diocese was not the only one to face the challenges of growth at this time. As suburbs started to appear around Eugene, Oregon, the once solitary St. Mary's Episcopal Church decided that rather than abandon its downtown location, it would plant suburban missions. Between 1959 and 1964, it built three such churches. Another diocese that went through dramatic growth was the Diocese of Dallas. See Terry Abraham, "Down in the Valley, the Episcopal Church in Eugene, Oregon: St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Eugene, Oregon, 1859-1964," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 41 (December 1972), 370-371; The Episcopal Diocese of Dallas, "The Episcopal Diocese of Dallas:

“altar centered social ministry.” He came to Indianapolis from parish work in New Jersey, and played a crucial role in the diocese in the years ahead.<sup>26</sup>

Carthy came with the enthusiastic support of Craine, and was known as “a man of many talents.” He needed to employ them all at All Saints, as the neighborhood around the parish was drastically changing. The city’s residents were moving north and the church, on the edge of the Old Northside neighborhood, soon found itself firmly rooted in the emerging inner city of a very different Indianapolis. Mansions were being converted into apartments and wealthy and middle-class whites were moving away, being replaced by lower-class blacks.<sup>27</sup>

Undaunted, Carthy went into the neighborhood and invited its new residents to attend his church. This was a bold step for the time, considering the worship preferences of its white members and the historic denominational preferences of its new black neighbors. The congregation supported him every step of the way. In order to get parents involved, Carthy organized a children’s choir and other activities. Bonnie Harvey, a social worker who helped work with the church’s new neighbors, aided him in his efforts. Carthy had an “All Are Welcome” sign made for the door, inviting blacks to make All Saints their church home. The parish became integrated and also continued to

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History,” N.d. <<http://www.episcopal-dallas.org/diocese/history.htm>> (17 September 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion’s Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1961), 30; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; *Indianapolis Times*, 14 January 1950; *Indianapolis Star*, 14 September 1956.

Carthy replaced the ill Rev. Felix L. Ciriot, an Anglo-Catholic who made Craine promise to replace him with a fellow High Church priest. All Saints began its transformation from Low Church (more Protestant orientated in worship style) to High Church (more Catholic orientated in worship style) during the 1930s. See Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998. For more on Anglo-Catholicism, see W. S. F. Pickering, *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

<sup>27</sup> Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998; Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 162; Richard W. Mote, *The History of All Saints Episcopal Church: Indianapolis, Indiana, 1864-1964* (Indianapolis: All Saints Episcopal Church, 1964), 12-17.

Belknap served as Carthy’s senior vestryman on several occasions, as well as overseeing the finishing of the sanctuary (due to a gift from Eli Lilly) in time for the church’s centennial in 1964. In his

remain staunchly Anglo-Catholic.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout this time, Carthy found support from the diocese, as well as his parish. He also gained a reputation as a man who was good at getting things for his parish. He was able to do this because he had staunch allies in the persons of Craine, Moore, and later in a young priest named Malcolm Boyd. With all of their help, All Saints soon became the center of the diocese's social welfare programs.<sup>29</sup>

All Saints became an example of Moore's firm belief that "the Church belongs at the center of the city," which became the mantra of Indianapolis's downtown congregations. The two men quickly became good friends. Carthy convinced the Moores to keep the posh Christ Church deanery on Washington Boulevard, rather than move to a less prestigious home, so as not to offend Christ Church's congregation. Moore believed that the Episcopal Church had to evolve in order to remain relevant to the changing city, and with the help of a man he still calls "a real radical," he believed he could accomplish this goal in Indianapolis.<sup>30</sup>

In the fall of 1958, the Indianapolis Diocese started bringing in more pastors of Carthy's zeal and Moore's belief to deal with social welfare programs. The diocese even brought in a Chicago priest who had previous experience working with drug abuse and gangs. Moore wrote in his book, *The Church Reclaims the City*, that "social action is as

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interview with the author, he recalls Carthy as being a "strong character."

<sup>28</sup> Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998.

<sup>29</sup> Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; *Indianapolis Star*, 28 November 1964.

According to Rev. Chastain, in the late 1960s, Carthy went to the diocese to beg money for All Saints. He put a "guilt trip" on the diocese, likening the parish to an "old mother" that was on hard times, but still has much to do and just needed the resources of her wealthy children (who love her) to accomplish her goals. Carthy and his parish received the monetary request.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Moore, *Presences: A Bishop's Life in the City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 140-141; Paul Moore, *The Church Reclaims the City* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1964), 2, 31-32, 53.

This is a sentiment that Moore had carried with him since his time in New Jersey and one that resonated with St. Louis's Christ Church, which hoped to be a "visible witness of Christ to the city." See Charles F. Rehkopf, "Reactions to Events of the '60s and '70s," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant*

necessary as a Sunday School to the life of a parish.” In this vein, in December of 1957, the diocese announced that it was bringing the Rev. Malcolm Boyd to serve St. George’s. Boyd, who came to Indianapolis from the Diocese of Los Angeles, was author of the book *Crisis in Communication* and former president of the Television Producers Association of America. He was also very socially active.<sup>31</sup>

Moore had created “a new kind of mission” in Jersey City. It was “a ministry to the poor rather than with the poor,” and it had caught the attention of Christ Church’s rector search committee. He came to view Christ Church in much the same way as Lilly, that it was a symbol of God’s concern with the heart of Indianapolis. Craine had revived Christ Church as a congregation. The new bishop’s hope was that Moore would be able to give the congregation a mission. Moore wanted to expand the urban ministry offered by the diocese. He envisioned the urban parishes working together. Lilly offered to help monetarily. Startled, Moore asked Craine how much he should ask for. They decided that the sum of \$100,000 was a good figure for a man of Lilly’s means. At their meeting, Moore made the request of Lilly, who scoffed at the figure. Saying that he was not talking about “chicken feed,” Lilly made a counteroffer of \$1 million. The Talbot Fund was established as a result of the meeting. Moore soon used the fund to establish Christ Church’s Cathedral House program.<sup>32</sup>

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*Episcopal Church*, 47 (December 1978), 453-454.

<sup>31</sup> *Indianapolis News*, 27 September 1958 and 29 August 1959; *Indianapolis Times*, 19 October 1958; *Church Militant*, December 1957; Moore, *Church Reclaims the City*, 90, 188.

Boyd left television in 1951 and entered the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, hoping to find “peace and happiness in my personal life.” He later studied at Oxford University and spent time traveling throughout Western Europe. He came back to the United States and was ordained into the priesthood. He looked forward to his Indianapolis assignment, telling his mother that “I like the clergy and Bishop, very, very much. There is a lack of pressure and ‘competition’ and a real brotherhood of priests; the Bishop can be an honest father-in-God to his people.” See Michael B. Friedland, “Giving a Shout for Freedom: The Reverend Malcolm Boyd, the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements of the 1960s and 1970s,” *Vietnam Generation Journal* (March 1994), <[http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Freidland\\_Boyd\\_01.html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Freidland_Boyd_01.html)> (11 January 1999). Friedland draws extensively from the Malcolm Boyd Papers, which are located at Boston University.

In February 1956, in a further effort to realize Moore's vision, the vestries of All Saints, St. George's, St. Philip's, and Christ Church met and discussed inner city problems. By April these four inner city parishes had worked out a plan to deal with their urban environment. Their idea was for an Urban Missions Council (UMC). Thanks to Lilly, Moore and the Cathedral had money to spend, Boyd had the charisma needed to launch such a project, and Carthy had a low income parish in which to operate programs. The UMC fit into Moore's belief that no single parish should shoulder the work of the entire denomination in the city. This group became Craine's urban inner circle, and though they were not what Indianapolis's Episcopalians were used to, they were the men by whom Craine hoped to change the diocese into a model of urban outreach.<sup>33</sup>

In July of 1959, as part of the UMC, Christ Church adopted a neighborhood with its Cathedral House program. The program continued throughout the 1960s. Its programs were seen as "brightening" the lives of people in a "slum area" of Indianapolis. In 1961, the program moved from North East Street to a new location at 800 North Broadway. The following year, Cathedral House, All Saints, and St. Philip's announced a summer program that was expected to attract anywhere from 100 to 150 children. In 1963, using the UMC as his platform, Moore attacked the problem of inner city housing in Indianapolis. The UMC continued its summer programs in 1964 and the following

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<sup>32</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 206, 232; *Church Militant*, October 1962; Moore, *Presences*, 110-112, 139 150; Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory: America's Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 88-89.

Lilly made a condition of his gift, which was paid out in three installments of Eli Lilly and Company stock, that the Talbot Fund be used to spread the Gospel, not fix leaks in buildings. See Vestry meeting, 11 February 1958, 9 December 1958, 11 February 1960, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

At the same time Lilly and Moore were establishing the Talbot Fund, the Diocese of Georgia was making a special effort to solicit funds from its members who, like Lilly, were successful businessmen. See Henry Thompson Malone, *The Episcopal Church in Georgia, 1733-1957* (Atlanta: The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Atlanta, 1960), 188-189.

<sup>33</sup> Vestry meeting, 7 April 1958, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Church Militant*, February 1956, v3 n1, 11; April 1956, v3 n2, 10; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Mote, *All Saints*, 19; Moore, *Church Reclaims the City*, 147; Moore, *Presences*, 149-150;

year saw its work grow. By 1969, St. Alban's and Trinity joined in the work of the UMC, reflecting the growth of urban Indianapolis.<sup>34</sup>

In 1961, the denomination's General Convention placed an emphasis on studying and "solving the problems of the inner city church." During the 1960s, following this call, many liberal seminary students went not into the pulpit following graduation, but rather into their denomination's inner city projects, as well as into their respective denomination's bureaucracies. These were places from which they could shape and advocate social policy. In May 1962, the Diocese of Indianapolis announced the start of a three-year study of its urban parishes. The Rev. Peter Lawson was named to conduct the study. Lawson told the diocesan newspaper, the *Church Militant*, that mankind had "come of age," but that the Church still treated it like a child. If the Church was going to remain important in the secular age, he believed it must become a servant to the city and change some of its ways. This fit in well with Moore's goals, but later came back to haunt Lawson, just as the very trend which brought Lawson to Indianapolis in the first place was to have dire ramifications for the denomination.<sup>35</sup>

In September 1963, the diocese learned that Moore had been named suffragan bishop in the Diocese of Washington, D.C. Lilly commented that "I view the election with mixed emotions . . . I admire Dean Moore very much." Lilly and John Rauch, Lilly's friend and fellow member of the search committees that had brought both Craine

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Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.

<sup>34</sup> *Indianapolis Times*, 12 July 1959; *Indianapolis Star*, 30 April 1960; *Church Militant*, March 1961, June 1961, June 1962, February 1963, March 1964; *Indianapolis News*, 24 June 1965; Vestry meeting, 14 March 1969, Vestry meeting minutes, brown folder, Miscellaneous box, St. Alban's Archives; Vestry Meeting, 14 April 1969, 1969 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1960-1969, Trinity Archives.

<sup>35</sup> Arthur James Kelly, "The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes Have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long Island" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 82; Ronald B. Flowers, *Religion in Strange Times: The 1960s and 1970s* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984), 42; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: Does Organized Religion Matter Anymore?* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1998), 15; Vestry meeting, 8 May 1962, 11 September 1962, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Church Militant*, December 1962; Madison, Lilly, 233.



and Moore to Christ Church, were placed on the rector/dean search committee. They hoped to find someone by November, so that the new dean could get instruction about the church from Moore. By December, the vestry was ready to vote on four possible candidates. Peter Lawson received seven of the eight possible votes, though one of the vestrymen was absent from the meeting. He was contacted and said that he would have voted for Lawson, putting the total at eight to one. A motion was made to declare Lawson's victory "unanimous," but no second was found. When told the news of Lawson's appointment, Moore responded that he was "terribly pleased."<sup>36</sup>

Growth for the diocese continued in the 1960s, bringing with it more programs. Because of the needs of their parishes, many of the churches incorporated social welfare programs into their budgets. In 1960, Episcopal Community Services (ECS) was founded at All Saints, quickly becoming the diocesan model for parish programs. ECS was designed to be like Lutheran and Catholic community service programs. ECS ran a food bank, a clothing bank, and tutoring programs for the neighborhood. In 1970, the diocese brought in Rev. R. Stewart Wood, Jr., to lead the program. Though the organization had been the first in the city to offer mental health care to the underprivileged and had been at the forefront of developing outreach programs to its neighborhood, it was having problems finding its place in the city. After a year as head of ECS, Wood was asked to assume the role of rector of All Saints, thus rejoining the two positions as Carthy had done. In 1973, Wood was joined at All Saints and ECS by Rev. Jack Eastwood. Eastwood found the congregation to be very proud of its Anglo-Catholic heritage, racially mixed, dedicated to their mission, and financially strapped for cash.

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<sup>36</sup> *Church Militant*, September 1963; *Indianapolis Star*, 23 December 1963; Vestry meeting, 28 September 1963, 14 December 1963, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

The minutes do not disclose who the sole holdout was. However, he must have been a man who firmly believed that Lawson should not become dean and someone who was respected enough by the other members to ensure that there was no second to a unanimous motion, so as not to offend him.

Between 1973 and 1976, the two men worked to remodel the church plant and to reinvigorate ECS. After Wood left to serve a parish in the Diocese of Southern Ohio, Eastwood became the rector and the decision was made to separate the administration of the parish from ECS. This allowed the parish to branch out into other areas, such as working with the homeless and helping to build affordable housing. They also launched an inner city music and choir program for neighborhood children, which was funded by the Lilly Endowment. As for ECS, despite the help from parishes such as St. Christopher's and St. Paul's, the organization would eventually be dissolved by the diocese.<sup>37</sup>

St. Philip's participation in helping to advance Moore's "urban program" increased its visibility and helped to spur growth. Under the leadership of Rev. Hill, the parish drew up building plans and purchased land. In April 1962 it had 250 communicants. A year later, the parish announced plans to build a library. In 1964, Rev. Earl L. Conner replaced Hill at the church. Conner had been vicar at St. George's before being promoted to the National Council of the Episcopal Church's Urban Work Division in 1957. He served as Archdeacon of Central America from 1960 to 1962, before becoming a canon at the Church of the Transfiguration in New York City. Conner's first

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<sup>37</sup>*Indianapolis News*, 10 September 1962 and 12 May 1970; Mote, *All Saints*, 19; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 104; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Margaret Barnard, interview with author, 16 February 1999; Vestry meetings, 12 February 1962 and 9 March 1969, St. Christopher's Vestry Books 1: 1956-1965 and 2: 1966-1974, Archives of St. Christopher's; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999.

Eli and Ruth Lilly both gave gifts of \$125,000 to help get ECS off and running. The vestry of St. Paul's, though supportive of the initiative, was worried that people might be pressured into contributing to the program, to the detriment of giving to their individual parish. See Vestry meeting, 13 December 1959, Vestry minutes January 1958-December 1959, St. Paul's Archives; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Vestry meeting, 17 July 1973, 1973 Vestry minutes folder, Box 1, All Saints Archives.

After ECS got off the ground, Rev. Dille of St. Matthew's discussed with his congregation how their parish could combat "the problems confronting the Church today" along the same lines as All Saints. See Vestry meetings, 7 February 1964 and 10 July 1964, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives. The same types of issues that were confronting St. Matthew's were occurring in St. Louis's



task upon returning to Indianapolis was to assess the needs of the congregation and its plan to expand. It was under his tenure that St. Philip's and St. Christopher's developed a close relationship that allowed the Carmel church to easily help out in the inner city. Still, not all was smooth sailing for St. Philip's. With the construction of IUPUI in the late 1960s, the downtown neighborhood that the parish served changed dramatically. In the spring of 1971, there were rumors within the diocese of closing the parish down. All Saints even invited the vestry of St. Philip's to meet with them to discuss this possibility and the resulting need to coordinate some type of "team ministry" for the area. Nothing came of these talks, nor of proposals to move the church to Pike Township or to merge with Christ Church. The diocese eventually decided to keep St. Philip's in its downtown location.<sup>38</sup>

The movement of people from the city's center, which was a cause of worry at All Saints and St. Phillips, was a nationwide phenomenon. Of the 13 million homes built in the United States between 1948 and 1958, 11 million were in suburbia. This was a fact that Lilly knew well enough to prompt him to give money to Christ Church to keep it on the Circle. Churches moved with their people to the suburbs, where they acted as neighborhood builders. The question that denominations continually asked themselves was whether or not a neighborhood could support and even wanted a local church from them. Older churches, like St. Philip's, had to decide if they wanted to stay or move. Staying seemed to require developing new programs to attract new members.<sup>39</sup>

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Episcopal churches as well. For more information, see Rehkopf, "Reactions," 454-457.

<sup>38</sup>Rev. Richard Roos, interview with author, 23 March 1999; Annual Parish Meetings, 27 January 1980, 25 January 1981, 31 January 1982, 5 February 1984, 17 February 1985, 9 February 1986, 15 February 1987, 7 February 1988, Church Annual Parish Meeting Brochures: 1980-1989 folder, Archives of St. Philip's Episcopal Church; Rev. Anthony F. Andres, interview with author, 19 February 1999; *Church Militant*, April 1962, April 1963; *Indianapolis Star*, 17 August 1964; *Indianapolis Times*, 17 August 1964; *Indianapolis News*, 30 November 1985; Vestry meeting, 17 April 1971, 1971 vestry minutes folder, box 1, All Saints Archives.

<sup>39</sup>Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 333; Robert W. Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg,

While many people within the Episcopal Church and the Diocese of Indianapolis, specifically Malcolm Boyd, bemoaned the rise of the suburbs, Rev. Robert A. MacGill embraced it. In October 1962, MacGill, the former vicar of Nativity, wrote an article defending the church in suburbia against charges that it had “sold out” by moving with its congregations. His former charge had started a program to help Appalachian children on the city’s Southside get ahead. But by the late 1960s, even such congregations as St. Paul’s, which still clung to the idea that they were neighborhood churches, were feeling the pressure of the expanding inner city. This group of parishes had to find answers to their problems.<sup>40</sup>

The quest for good schools often led people to the suburbs. As a result, the 1950s witnessed a revival in interest in Episcopal day schools. The idea of a church school arrived in Indianapolis in November 1957, when Trinity dedicated St. Richard’s Hall. Two years later, in May 1959, Eugene S. Pulliam “reported on a preliminary study of the possibility of establishing a parish day school” that would utilize the hall. The plan would be to start with kindergarten and add a grade each year, until they reached the sixth grade. Bishop Craine quickly approved of the idea because it gave the parish a mission in its neighborhood. In January 1960, Trinity invited a representative from the National Church to discuss the idea of a parish school. In February, Trinity announced to the diocese its plan to create an Episcopal day school at their church, utilizing the hall. In April, the church sponsored a citywide parish meeting to discuss the school idea. That September, after a year of work, the school opened with its first kindergarten class.<sup>41</sup>

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Penn: Morehouse Publishing, 1991), 229; Vincent and Elinor Ostrom and Robert Brish, *Local Government in the United States* (Bloomington: Workshop on Political Theory and Policy Analysis, 1980), 13; Richard E. Moore and Duane L. Day, *Urban Church Breakthrough* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), 171.

<sup>40</sup> *Church Militant*, October 1962; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Vestry meeting, 11 April 1967, Vestry minutes 1966-1970, St. Paul’s Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 572; Strange, *Trinity*, 70-72; *Church Militant*, December 1957 and

St. Richard's continued to grow in numbers and status throughout the 1960s, each year adding another grade. In 1964, with the help the Atkinsons and Lilly Endowment, Trinity purchased property along Pennsylvania Street for St. Richard's to expand. In 1967, retired bishop Richard Kirchhoffer, for whom the school had in part been named, spoke at a fundraising dinner for the school. By 1968 it was recognized as "an outstanding example of an inner city school." St. Richard's graduates still feel its influence to the present.<sup>42</sup>

Craine was proud of what St. Richard's had accomplished. Speaking in 1966, he said "we are also determined if possible, to build a Parish Day School system for Marion County at least, if not for the Diocese itself. . . ."<sup>43</sup> Rev. Robert Ehr Gott of Nativity hoped to repeat the success of St. Richard's at his church, by seizing upon Craine's statement. In the summer of 1969, the vestry empowered the rector to form a day school at the church. Speaking of the school in January 1970, to a congregation that had mixed feelings about the undertaking, Rev. Ehr Gott said:

I shall not go into the benefits of adding to the educational scene at a time when private schools are becoming the thing, and when parish day schools in the Episcopal Church are positively proliferating. This is not the Roman Catholic parochial school set-up; it frankly is only for people who can afford \$350-600 a year per child. Which not everyone in this

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February 1960; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 106, 182; *Indianapolis Star*, 9 November 1957; Vestry Meetings, 11 May 1959, 8 June 1959, 15 September 1959, 9 November 1959, 14 December 1959, 1959 Vestry Minutes Folder, 1950-1959 Vestry Minutes 1950-1959, and Vestry meetings, 11 January 1960, 15 February 1960, 11 April 1960, 12 September 1960, 30 October 1960, 1960 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes 1960-1969 Box, Trinity Archives; *Indianapolis Star*, 22 January 1999.

Pulliam later became the publisher of the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Indianapolis News*. His son, Russell, remembers that "the purpose [of founding St. Richard's School] was to provide top-notch education. I do recall my father commenting that he thought St. Richard's was in some competitive sense a help or challenge to the nearby Indianapolis Public Schools." Russell B. Pulliam, correspondence with author, 9 April 1999.

By 1962, the Diocese of Connecticut had founded three schools. See Burr, *Connecticut*, 316.

<sup>42</sup> Strange, *Trinity*, 90-94; *Indianapolis News*, 15 April 1967 and 16 February 1968; Vestry Meetings, 11 May 1964 and 14 June 1964, 1964 Vestry Minutes Folder; Vestry Meeting 10 May 1965, 1965 Vestry Minutes Folder; Vestry Meeting, 11 November 1968, 1968 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes 1960-1969 Box, Trinity Archives; St. Richard's School Catalogue: 1997-1998; G.B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Craine to John Rauch, letter, 15 February 1966, Vestry correspondence, Box 1/3, CCC Archives.

parish can do. . . . But we must give this venture a chance. It is not at all outside the purview of an Episcopal parish; it is, in fact, the coming thing. The Carmel parish wanted one several years ago, St. Alban's wanted one this fall and were thwarted by our beginning the day school, and the Trinity parish has had remarkable success with the school they began on a shoestring 10 years ago . . . and in a declining neighborhood this is Trinity's salvation. We are far from in a declining neighborhood, but our lovely location is also a handicap -- so far east of the aprish [sic] area and hard to find -- and it may be even worsened if the new dam goes thru, making Lantern Hill an island. So, I ask you to be understanding about the day school: it is not a radical thing. . . . It is then also our contribution to the community.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the school, by the early 1970s, the parish found itself in trouble, as did many of Indianapolis's Episcopal churches. Nativity was facing financial problems and when looking at its neighbors, found little to be optimistic about. Though Carmel was "booming," St. Alban's had "slow growth," St. Michael's was "fading away" and even St. Paul's was "tapering off." Only the Zionsville area offered any signs of hope for a future "boom." But Nativity's older members, the very people who had built the church in the first place, continued to sustain it.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Vestry meeting, 8 June 1969; 10 August 1969, 1969 Vestry Minutes and Treasurer Reports, Box 1; Erhgott to congregation, 1969 Annual Report, Nativity Archives.

In June 1970, St. Matthew's attempted to wrest control of the Parish County Day School away from Nativity. In the words of Rev. James K. Taylor of St. Matthew's, the Parish County Day School was "severing relations with Nativity and would like to be affiliated with St. Matthew's." However, this did not occur. The Day School stayed at Nativity until 1972 when, thanks to the Lilly Endowment, it purchased eleven acres at 6001 East 96th Street. At the February 1977 vestry meeting, the Nativity vestry talked to a representative of the Parish County Day School. Nothing else is mentioned in the minutes. See Vestry meeting, 22 June 1970, Vestry minutes 1970-1972, St. Matthew's Archives. "Parish Country Day School" brochure, Church of the Nativity: 1957-1997 scrapbook, Nativity Archives; Vestry meeting, 12 February 1977, 1977 Vestry Minutes, Box 1, Nativity Archives; Rev. Donald Jones, interview with author, 16 November 1998; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999.

St. Alban's did indeed discuss the possibility of starting a day school during May 1970, but in the end nothing came of it. St. Christopher's, which considered starting a school in 1966, is still thinking about a dayschool, despite the fact that "it is a big undertaking." St. Michael's has even considered founding one. See Vestry meetings, 8 May 1970 and 17 May 1970, 1970 folder, Vestry minutes box, St. Alban's Archives; Rev. Anthony F. Andres, interview with author, 19 February 1999; Vestry meetings, 2 January, 16 January, 3 April, 17 April, and 1 May 1966, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 2: 1966-1974, Archives of St. Christopher's; *Indianapolis Star*, 6 February 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Vestry meeting, 10 February 1973, Vestry Minutes 1972-1974, Box 1, Nativity Archives; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Rev. Anthony F. Andres, interview with author, 19 February 1999.

In the case of St. Michael's, drastic action was taken. In the mid-1970s, the congregation decided to move. The church left its old, Noblesville location and moved to the South Harbor/Carmel area. Within

While St. Richard's allowed Trinity to thrive in its neighborhood despite suburbia, suburban living spelled the end for St. George's. The "little church" which served "an underprivileged neighborhood" was closed. In June 1959 it was announced that a new parish would be created to replace it. St. George's had been so close to downtown that it had not been representative of the area it was intended to serve. The new parish's name was St. Timothy's and it was to be located on five acres on the city's Southside. St. George's property was sold to Mayer Chapel Presbyterian Church, and the money from the sale then went to St. Timothy's. Boyd left Indianapolis and was replaced by Rev. Peter C. Moore, a Navy veteran of World War II.<sup>46</sup>

The new congregation, made up mainly of former members of St. George's, met at the Hanna Street YMCA. Construction on their new church started almost immediately and, by the end of 1960, the first unit of St. Timothy's building was finished. In June 1968, both St. Timothy's and St. John's were in the process of building programs. St. Timothy's sanctuary was dedicated in April 1969 and the church became a parish three years later. Into the 1970s the congregation remained predominately working class and fairly conservative.<sup>47</sup>

Before he left Indianapolis, however, Boyd vented his frustration to the local papers. He said that he hated the highway system and suburbia, because he believed they caused people to "lose focus." He could not understand why denominations were willing to spend millions of dollars to build new churches for people who had the means to move to the suburbs, and in the process abandoned the churches and people who could not

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a period of months, the congregation was revitalized. See *Church Militant*, May 1975, November 1975; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 208.

<sup>46</sup> *Indianapolis Times*, 21 July 1959; *Indianapolis News*, 29 August 1959; *Indianapolis Star*, 11 November 1959; *Church Militant*, June 1959, October 1959, February 1960; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 179.

<sup>47</sup> St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, "St. Timothy's," N.d. <<http://www.avcnet.com/church/Overview.htm>> (21 August 1998); *Indianapolis New*, 29 August 1959; *Indianapolis Star*, 11 November 1959 and 12 April 1969; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 179-180; *Church Militant*, December 1960, June 1968; Rev. Jack Eastwood,

afford to move.<sup>48</sup>

The suburban exodus, as Boyd knew all too well, did require the construction of new churches. One of them was St. Francis-in-the-Fields in Zionsville. In May 1964, several families met in the home of James and Fran Girwood to petition the diocese to start a mission to Zionsville, the very place Nativity had seen as an area for growth. A few months later, in July, Bishop Craine granted their request. Services were held first at the American Legion Hall and then in a house, dedicated as a chapel. Construction on a church was started in 1968. As the years passed and Zionsville grew with the influx of people leaving Indianapolis and Marion County, both the congregation and the church grew as well.<sup>49</sup>

The years of growth prompted an era of good feelings within the Church. Craine noted growing confidence in the Presiding Bishop and an absence of bitterness in the denomination. But prosperity brought with it underlying problems, such as secularism and urbanism. While the clergy who came to the diocese became more focused on how to accommodate their parishes to these issues, the laity increasingly sought refuge in their parishes from them. Thus the leadership and the membership of these thriving parishes were often on divergent tracks of thought.<sup>50</sup>

This growing rift was not the only problem confronting both the diocese and the denomination as the period of growth drew to a close. Throughout the early 1960s, despite their denomination's small size, Episcopal priests attracted special media

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interview with author, 5 February 1999.

<sup>48</sup> *Indianapolis Times*, 21 July 1959; *Indianapolis News*, 29 August 1959. Boyd's anger, while understandable, was hardly justifiable. The fact of the matter was that St. George's could not, in large part due to its location, make the transition into a commuter church.

<sup>49</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 234-235.

<sup>50</sup> *Church Militant*, November 1955; Wade Clark Roof, *Community and Commitment: Religious Plausibility in a Liberal Protestant Church* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 40, 45; Lenski, *Religious Factor*, 9.

attention. They were a favorite among reporters because this was America's "heyday" and their denomination had played such an important part in the founding of the nation. The Episcopal Church grew in numbers, in part, because it was seen as "fashionable" to be a member of it. Looking back, it can be argued that the church growth of the 1950s was artificial. By the 1960s and 1970s, the children of the 1940s and 1950s were leaving the churches and the churches lacked the means to get them back. Furthermore, the congregations had both external and internal problems to face. The "heyday" was about to be over.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Robert S. Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 37-38, 47-48; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 22.



## Chapter Two

### Civil Rights and Black Power

#### For Social Justice:

**“Almighty God, who hast created man in thine own image; Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations, to the glory of thy holy name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

The addition of new parishes and the expansion of programs at old ones constituted the first wave of challenges for the Episcopal Church during the 1950s and early 1960s. However, just as things were settling down, another challenge arrived. Civil rights proved to be more difficult to deal with than placement of new parishes. It was to be a period of trauma for the nation, as the movement turned from a quest for equality to demands for black power. This change left many parishioners within the Episcopal Church confused, divided, and wondering if they should be directly involved or not. At the same time, many of the denomination's clergy and bureaucrats believed that the Church, in order to be true to its long history of working in social issues, had to participate in the struggle whatever shape it took.<sup>1</sup>

According to social theorists, religion legitimates social institutions and activities by making them a part of the “given order.” Protestant ethicist and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr said that privileged classes believe that injustice is part of society, and trying to remove it threatens society. In essence, what privileged classes mean is that they have power and are reluctant to give it up. Along those same lines, in a 1939 trip to the United

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<sup>1</sup>David W. Lotz, ed., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 26; John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 1; Wade Clark Roof, *Community and Commitment: Religious Plausibility in a Liberal Protestant Church* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 3; Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York:



States, German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer challenged white Christians to answer the problems confronting blacks in the nation. Addressing Bonhoeffer's challenge became a top priority following the end of World War II, the same war that produced a "Negro problem" for the United States because blacks fought for freedoms abroad that they were denied at home.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1940s and 1950s, following Bonhoeffer's challenge, the Episcopal Church became increasingly interested in social justice issues. At the same time it started dismantling its own institutional segregationist policies. The move for civil rights within the Episcopal Church was very "top-down" in nature, from national to local. Because it was not a grass roots movement, there were opportunities for congregational rebellion. The National Church bureaucracy moved the denomination at its General Conventions towards supporting civil rights. The Church justified its involvement in integration because of traditional Anglican theology, which called for finding unity in Christ. As a rule, Episcopalians do not like disorder, but they do like working for a new order, especially when it promises unity.<sup>3</sup>

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Macmillan Company, 1964), 359-361.

<sup>2</sup> Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969), 33, 90; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 21; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), 121, 129; George B. Kelly and F. Burton Nelson, eds., *A Testament to Freedom: The Essential Writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1995), 523-526.

Addressing Bonhoeffer's challenge became a priority throughout the Episcopal Church, but the impetus for change began before Bonhoeffer's arrival. The Episcopal Diocese of Florida did not mention lynching during the 1930s. During the war, Bishop John Moore Walker, of the Diocese of Atlanta, steered the church toward more mission work among blacks. He believed that the church must do this, or watch as blacks became Catholic, or even worse, slip into what he called "voodooism." In 1947, Bishop Middleton Stuart Barnwell of the Diocese of Georgia worked to erase the color line in his diocese. George R. Bentley, *The Episcopal Diocese of Florida: 1892-1975* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989), 139; Henry Thompson Malone, *The Episcopal Church in Georgia, 1733-1957* (Atlanta: The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Atlanta, 1960), 188, 267-268.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy F. Sedgwick and Philip Turner, eds., *The Crisis in Moral Teaching in the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1992), 77; Robert W. Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1991), 243; Lotz, *Altered*, 33; Bentley, *Florida*, 203; John L. Kater, Jr., "Experiment in Freedom: The Episcopal Church and the Black Power Movement,"

Following World War II, blacks in the United States faced discrimination in both the North and the South. Despite their wartime service, blacks found that Jim Crow laws held sway over much of the nation and that there was little political discussion of equality. The civil rights movement formed as a reaction to these underlying racial problems and lack of discussion. While President Harry S Truman spoke a lot about civil rights, he did very little to change the status quo. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, as well as the Congresses of the 1950s, also did very little to address the social problems in the nation's cities. This missed opportunity set the stage for the upheavals of the late 1960s.<sup>4</sup>

As Joyce Marks Booth's history of the diocese points out, "Indianapolis has never been known as a hotbed of social unrest or controversy . . . [however, it did have] John Craine, [who was] highly visible in the fight for equal rights." The bishop, who was a founding member of the Indianapolis Urban League, moved the diocese in the direction of promoting equality of the races. His record extended back to his time at Christ Church Cathedral. When Maudeline Hampton became the first black member of the congregation, Craine told her "this was something that we wanted to happen!" As bishop, he helped bring in priests who shared his vision, men such as Frank Carthy and Paul Moore.<sup>5</sup>

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) spearheaded the use of legal tactics to advance the civil rights movement. In 1954, the

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*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 48 (March 1979), 68-69.

<sup>4</sup> Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 26-27; Ronald B. Flowers, *Religion in Strange Times: The 1960s and 1970s* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984), 5; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 26-29, 150, 274; John Booty, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publishers, 1988), 56.

<sup>5</sup> Joyce Marks Booth, ed., *A History of the Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis, 1838-1988, Sesquicentennial Edition* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1988), 109-110; Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999.

Craine's contemporary in the Diocese of Southern Ohio, Bishop Roger W. Blanchard, "made the evil of institutional racism a priority target for the Diocese. . . ." See Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio, "A Brief History of the Diocese of Southern Ohio," N.d.

NAACP scored a victory over segregation with the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Southern whites had long argued that blacks were too ignorant to vote, and that they needed to be educated before they could take their place in society. At the same time, inferior educational facilities denied them the opportunity to get a good education. The NAACP's integrationist approach was the dominant theory among the black middle class of the day, a position that was supported by the Episcopal Church. In 1955, Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill moved the General Convention from Houston, Texas, to Honolulu, Hawaii, because of segregationist laws in Texas. That year the Church also went on record as supporting integration.<sup>6</sup>

The Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott started in November of 1955, marking the expansion of the movement from solely legal means to include moral suasion. Blacks had grown impatient for the courts to grant them justice, so they started taking matters into their own hands, a trend that only increased as the decade went on. Sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, and voter registration, done non-violently, caused many problems for the South. Southern whites could ignore court rulings if they wished, but they could not ignore a sit-in.<sup>7</sup>

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<<http://www.southernohio.anglican.org/pages/history.htm>> (11 February 1999).

<sup>6</sup> McCartney, *Black Power*, 92-93; Neibuhr, *Moral Man*, 119; Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans*, 3rd ed. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998), 200; David E. Sumner, *The Episcopal Church's History: 1945-1985* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1987), 36; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: Does Organized Religion Matter Anymore?* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1998), 136.

At the same time that the Court rendered its historic *Brown* decision, which the NCC supported, the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia was ordaining a new bishop. William Henry Marimon spent the length of his episcopate working to integrate his diocese, with mixed results. See The Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, "An Overview and Brief History of Our Diocese," N.d. <<http://dioswva.org/History.htm>> (11 September 1998); James F. Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 205-207; Anderson, *Movement*, 45-48; McCartney, *Black Power*, 93-95; Flowers, *Strange*, 7.

The moral suasion route, as advocated by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was also full of pitfalls. As Reinhold Niebuhr pointed out, even Gandhi's use of non-violence, on which King patterned the American civil rights movement, was full of potential "violent" consequences. By boycotting English

The Episcopal Church became more involved in bringing civil rights to the South as the decade progressed. The issue seemed to be a clear-cut case of right versus wrong. However, as events unfolded from sit-ins and freedom rides to marches and demonstrations it carried the Church hierarchy in one direction, while carrying many in the pews in another. Rev. Paul Moore was transformed into a “radical” on the issue, becoming a symbol of the strains developing within the denomination. This took place prior to his arrival in Indianapolis, after he witnessed “southern justice” for blacks first hand during a trip to the South. Traditionally, more clergy than laity felt compelled to speak out on such issues. For example, civil rights became a favorite sermon topic at All Saints with the arrival of Rev. Frank Carthy. He gave messages from the pulpit and his associate priests lined up volunteers to go on marches. This continued all the way through the 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

Both Moore and Carthy became active in a new organization that organized within the denomination to combat segregation. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU) was formed in 1958 and was an important first step for a Church that had not traditionally been open to blacks. It drew people to it who were worried about prejudice in American society. ESCRU explained itself in the following way: “the purpose of this society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God’s call for unity in the Church . . . we commit ourselves to establish total participation in the Church

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goods, Gandhi’s followers were creating economic problems for people in England that had nothing to do with British policy. See Neibuhr, *Moral Man*, 172, 241-252.

An example of problems in the South comes from Atlanta. The Episcopal Lovett School refused to admit black students, including the son of Martin Luther King, Jr. The school dropped its affiliation with the Episcopal Church, becoming a “Christian” school, in order to avoid sanctions from the denomination. Bishop Randolph Claiborne, Jr., was reluctant to do too much because the school was supported in its stance by the rich and powerful “pillars” of Atlanta’s Episcopal churches. This was a very different situation than what Moore found in Indianapolis, thanks to Eli Lilly. See *Time*, 15 November 1963, 94.

<sup>8</sup> Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 70-71; Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory: America’s Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 20; Paul Moore, *Presences: A Bishop’s Life in the City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 122-123; David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 131; Gloria Kemper,

for all persons without regard to race, class, or national origin.”<sup>9</sup>

The invigorated Moore met Malcolm Boyd in 1959, when the latter arrived in Indianapolis. Their mutual conviction about civil rights nurtured a lasting friendship. Though Boyd had originally looked forward to working at the parish level, he soon found that his ideas about civil rights caused tension between himself and St. George’s congregation. Much to his dismay, his white, working class parishioners did not appreciate his efforts to integrate church functions or his idea of switching pulpits with local black churches. Boyd could not understand the reluctance of his congregation to integrate their activities with black congregations. After all, they worshiped the same God on Sunday and their problems were mostly the same.<sup>10</sup>

It was not just the diocese’s clergy who were involved in promoting equality between whites and blacks. Despite Boyd’s experience at St. George’s, many of Indianapolis’s Episcopal laymen supported the integrationist approach of the 1950s. In doing so, they were guided by the example of Eli Lilly. In March of 1959, Lilly was

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interview with author, 9 November 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Reeves, *Empty*, 137; Sumner, *History*, 38; Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1964), 359; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 50; Booty, *Crisis*, 57; Rev. Mary Ringwald, correspondence with author, 17 February 1998; Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, pamphlet, 1965.

By 1965, Moore, who was now in Washington, D.C., was on the ESCRU’s board of directors. The organization was present in the Diocese of Florida. The Diocese of Long Island supported ESCRU’s goal of civil rights for the South’s black population. See Bentley, *Florida*, 206 and Arthur James Kelly, “The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes Have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long Island” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 174-175.

<sup>10</sup> Malcolm Boyd, *The underground church*, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 243; Michael B. Friedland, “Giving a Shout for Freedom: The Reverend Malcolm Boyd, the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements of the 1960s and 1970s,” *Vietnam Generation Journal*, (March 1994),

<[http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Friedland\\_Boyd\\_01.html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Friedland_Boyd_01.html)> (11 January 1999).

While Moore’s conviction about civil rights sprang from seeing injustice in the South first hand, Boyd’s came from another source. The “t.v. priest” was homosexual, in a time when such a topic was not discussed openly, especially by priests. Though he was “forced to disguise his true sexuality,” Boyd became a champion for the rights of other minority groups.

named vice chairman of that year's United Negro College Fund nationwide fund-raiser.<sup>11</sup>

By getting involved like this, the Episcopalians were only responding to the changes that were going on in the city. By 1960, blacks made up 21 percent of the population of Indianapolis. It was not just social activists like Moore, Carthy, and Boyd, or concerned laymen like Lilly, who were taking part. By this time, the issue of civil rights was the important issue for the National Church to which they all belonged. In 1961 the Episcopal Church announced that it was concerned with civil rights. A survey of Episcopalians the following year found strong support for civil rights as a concept, with 79 percent registering approval. At the same time, however, the survey found that only 29 percent supported blacks moving into their neighborhood and only 13 percent supported the NAACP's sit-ins. These differences of opinion would later cause problems for the denomination.<sup>12</sup>

For his part, Moore warned that parish priests had to develop personal relationships with their parishes in order to "soften the blow" of a "harsh" sermon topic such as civil rights. He proved the wisdom of this tactic from personal experience at Christ Church Cathedral. One Sunday morning in 1957, shortly after the integration battle in Little Rock, Arkansas, several black children were baptized at the church. This caused outrage among some members because Moore had baptized them at the "late" service, when most of the congregation was present. Moore was asked why he had agreed to baptize these children when blacks had an Episcopal church of their own (St. Philip's) in the city. The dean replied, to little avail, that he had only been doing what Christ would have done. He was worried about what might happen next when help arrived in the form of Eli Lilly. Lilly told Moore "that as long as I am senior warden,

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<sup>11</sup> *Indianapolis Star*, 23 March 1959.

<sup>12</sup> *Church Militant*, October 1961; Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 154; Richard M. Bernard, ed., *Snowbelt Cities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 139-140.



there will never be a Little Rock on Monument Circle, and if you want to paint the church green with pink polka dots, I will back you all the way.” This incident ended Christ Church’s debate over congregational integration for the next several years. Moore continues to believe that without Lilly’s support, his time at Christ Church would have ended with the baptism.<sup>13</sup>

While All Saints was very active in the civil rights movement, thanks to Carthy, parishes such as St. Matthew’s were less involved. The reason had to do with children. Whereas All Saints had both a tradition of activism and a record of integration because of its changing neighborhood, St. Matthew’s was still a church full of white families with young children. Civil rights, while important as a concept, was not as important as raising children. Parents at St. Matthew’s decided that they simply could not leave them behind to go on a march in the South.<sup>14</sup>

In 1963, Episcopal Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger said that the Church must act to end societal injustice. On June 7, 1963, the National Council of Churches (NCC) followed suit, deciding to increase its efforts to promote civil rights. In a statement, the NCC said: “Up to now there has always seemed to be time for gradual change, and modest tokens of progress in racial justice were accepted as the best we

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<sup>13</sup> Paul Moore, *The Church Reclaims the City* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1964), 77; James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 231; Moore, *Presences*, 150-152; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with the author, 29 January 1999.

According to Moore, Lilly’s help was unsolicited and great to have. He remembers Lilly having a “deep Christian conviction.” He also remembers that with Lilly on your side, few dared to stand against you. It can be argued that Lilly represents a type of Christian that H. Richard Niebuhr called the “Christ Against Culture” Christians, while Moore represents the “Christ of Culture” Christians. The difference between the two is that Lilly’s type saw social action as an unintended by-product of their faith, while Moore’s group viewed it as the natural outgrowth of that same faith. For more information, see H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1951), 67, 83.

Connecticut Bishop Walter H. Gray, working along the same lines as Moore and Lilly, wanted to end segregation in his diocese. See Nelson Rollin Burr, *The Story of the Diocese of Connecticut: A New Branch of the Vine* (Hartford, Conn.: Church Missions Publishing Company, 1962), 418.

<sup>14</sup> Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Rev. Carol Mader (10 o’clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999.



could do.” Now the organization believed it was time for “direct action.”<sup>15</sup>

Though St. Richard’s School was integrated in 1963 “with no fanfare and no difficulty,” Trinity’s relationship to its changing neighborhood did not always go as smoothly. Members of the congregation became involved with the Mapleton-Fall Creek Neighborhood Association. The vestry was asked to decide if the parish should also join the organization. The body was split. While there was widespread agreement within the vestry that the association’s goal of uniting, rather than segregating, the neighborhood was a worthy one, several members, including Eugene S. Pulliam, worried that if the church joined the association, the group would then have the power to speak for the parish. In the end, the vestry decided to encourage the congregation’s members to individually join the organization, but that the church itself would not do so.<sup>16</sup>

Trinity’s decision was not that surprising. Parish clergy, such as Rev. Ernest Lynch, tended to be more conservative than other members of the cloth, such as campus clergy, who were more liberal and more likely to be involved in activism. A case in point was Boyd, who, after the closing of St. George’s and his departure from Indianapolis, became college chaplain at Colorado State University. He quickly made a name for himself by holding gatherings at a local coffeehouse, and rumors soon started running through Fort Collins that he was hearing confession and performing communion at local bars. Such stories did not endear Boyd to his new superior, Bishop Joseph S. Minnis of Colorado, and so by 1961 he found himself on his way to Wayne State University in Detroit. It was here that Boyd embarked upon his civil rights crusade, by becoming one of the original clerical Freedom Riders, eventually venturing to Selma, Alabama. Boyd,

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<sup>15</sup> *Church Militant*, June 1963; Findlay, *National Council*, 3.

Between 1950 and 1958, the NCC adopted twenty-four resolutions about racial issues. However, even before the 1963 pronouncement, the organization had stepped up its efforts to be more proactive, particularly by starting a “Southern Project” that utilized white churches in the South. See Findlay, *National Council*, 14, 25.

like other northerners who worked in the South, became changed because of what they “confronted” once there, just as Moore had done several years before.<sup>17</sup>

This is not to say that only men like Boyd were active in civil rights. The denomination’s clergy increasingly found support for the movement from both the National Church as well as from a new generation of politicians. The Episcopal Church worked hard for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the General Convention voted in 1964 to eliminate racial discrimination in all Episcopal parishes. The denomination also called on its churches to donate money to help fund the civil rights struggle. Closer to home for Hoosier Episcopalians, Indiana Governor Matthew Welsh became a champion of civil rights in the state during the early 1960s and was ahead of the federal government in securing civil rights legislation. He was a hero to Christ Church Cathedral’s Rev. Peter Lawson, who in March, 1964, was given approval by the vestry to write about an NAACP voter registration drive. Throughout the year, the local chapter of ESCRU picketed Naval Avionics in Indianapolis because of unfair hiring practices and Lawson’s wife was at the forefront of the picket lines.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Vestry Meetings, 11 February 1963 and 14 October 1963, 1963 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1960-1969, Trinity Archives.

<sup>17</sup> Nicholas J. Demerath III and Phillip E. Hammond, *Religion in Social Context: Tradition and Transition* (New York: Random House, 1969), 218-219; *Indianapolis News*, 29 August 1959; Freidland, “Giving a Shout,” 11 January 1999; *Church Militant*, April 1965; Findlay, *National Council*, 96.

So many parish priests were heading South that the National Church began getting complaints from parishioners, via their bishops, that no one was ministering to the parishes because the priests were all marching in the South. Boyd became something of a nuisance to Bishop John Allin of Mississippi, who labeled him a “radical.” Allin believed that effective change could only come to the South in gradual steps and he detested “outside agitators” such as Boyd, who came to his state and tried to effect change overnight. See Friedland, “Giving a Shout,” 11 January 1999.

<sup>18</sup> Vestry meeting, 10 March 1964, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 109; *Church Militant*, February 1964, April 1964, June 1964, September 1964; Edwin L. Becker, *From Sovereign to Servant: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1912-1987* (Indianapolis: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1987), 78. Reeves, *Empty*, 135; Holmes, *History*, 164.

The NCC also worked hard for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, though there was a constant worry within the organization that the bureaucracy would move faster than the laity would support. The NCC supported the 1963 March on Washington as well. They believed that it brought back the feelings of the 1950s, that it was going to mark yet another triumph. To ensure this, as well as to raise

During the 1964 General Convention, Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate for president, was accused of “transparent exploitation of racism” in a statement signed by over seven hundred Episcopalians. Bishop Craine came out strongly against the statement, in part because he believed that it was timed and worded in such a way as to make it appear that the General Convention endorsed it. Goldwater was labeled as a racist because he refused to support the Civil Rights Act, despite the fact that it was his principles about big government that made him reject the idea, not latent racism.<sup>19</sup>

Goldwater’s opponent in the election, President Lyndon Johnson, believed that he could transform America with his Great Society programs. He drew strength from the legislation that he managed to get passed in Congress following Kennedy’s assassination. Johnson launched the Great Society in January 1965, following his victory over Goldwater. He pushed through legislation covering education, health care, immigration, and civil rights. Hoping to finish what President Franklin Roosevelt had started, Johnson jumped headlong into a war on poverty. The only problem was that he oversold both what he was doing and what his programs could actually accomplish, thus raising expectations to a point that they could only come crashing back to reality.<sup>20</sup>

Many within the Episcopal Church, as reflected by the anti-Goldwater statement, supported Johnson’s policies. In fact, the more liberal the clergy member, the more likely they were to take an active role in the civil rights struggle. Jeffry Hadden found in his study that clergy who worked within a denomination’s bureaucracy were more

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support for the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the organization targeted midwestern Republicans in a series of workshops. Indianapolis hosted one of the workshops, and the process seemed to work. See Findlay, *National Council*, 37, 48, 50-51, 54, 62.

Governor Welsh was a member of Northwood Christian Church, which was very active in the civil rights movement of the early 1960s. See Edwin L. Becker, *The Story of Northwood: The First Seventy-five Years in the Life of Northwood Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: Northwood Christian Church, 1995), 34-35.

<sup>19</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 110; Findlay, *National Council*, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 542, 562, 569; James Gilbert, *Another Chance: Postwar America, 1945-*

supportive of and active in the civil rights movement, than were those who ministered at the parish level. Peter Lawson at Christ Church became an example of this, because his pronouncements on the Great Society programs, as well as civil rights, eventually angered and alienated members of his congregation, most notably Eli Lilly.<sup>21</sup>

Lilly did not like Lawson's tactic of advocating federal housing for Indianapolis and what he viewed as radical racial integration of Christ Church from the pulpit. The disagreement was one of principle. Lilly believed that private efforts, such as the Talbot Fund, were working on the housing problem in Indianapolis, so that federal projects were not needed. And while Lilly had no problems with blacks becoming members of the church, he only wanted people there who wanted to be there. He did not believe in turning the church into a social laboratory because of white guilt, which he believed Lawson was doing by recruiting blacks to join the congregation. Lilly also disagreed with the dean's support of Johnson from the pulpit during the 1964 election, as he supported Goldwater. In 1965, Lawson declared that "civil rights is at the center of the Cathedral." Still, even a man like Lawson could only go so far in the Midwest when discussing civil rights. Despite the growth in Indianapolis's black population and the sermons from the diocese's priests, the idea was still an "abstraction" to which most people simply could not relate. All these things caused problems for Lawson in the future.<sup>22</sup>

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1968 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 218.

<sup>21</sup> Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 112, 121, 175.

Hadden acknowledged that it is difficult to gauge the activism of clergy in the civil rights movement. Were you more active if you talked about it from the pulpit, or never mentioned it to your parishioners, but marched? Rev. Robert Giannini agreed that it was (and continues to be) difficult to judge the level of clerical activity concerning civil rights and other political issues. Rev. Robert Giannini, interview with author, 25 March 1999.

<sup>22</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 235-236; Carl R. Stockton, *Christ Church Cathedral: Sesquicentennial, 1837-1987* (Indianapolis: Christ Church Cathedral, 1987), 23; Findlay, *National Council*, 64.

Lawson's feelings, which would later become obvious for all to see, were echoed by William Stringfellow's 1973 book *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land*. In the book, Stringfellow says that moral poverty in whites was high "because the lives and livelihoods of most American whites have been subsidized by racial privilege for more than three hundred and fifty years on

In 1963, prior to heading to Washington, Moore went to Mississippi to take part in the civil rights movement there. The newly named bishop felt that “it was important for the clergy to be in Mississippi, for the clergy’s presence helped keep some of the local vigilantes in check, as well as contributed a moderating influence.” He made it to Washington in time to take part in Martin Luther King, Jr.’s March on Washington. According to the Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Episcopal Suffragan Bishop of Michigan, the civil rights movement was causing the “rebirth” of the white church. King had a very real influence on St. Philip’s Episcopal Church in Indianapolis. The parish was a center of integration, though its membership remained over 90 percent black into the late 1970s. The Rev. Lloyd Williams was very active in the local civil rights movement, as had been his predecessor, the Rev. Earl Conner.<sup>23</sup>

The civil rights movement seemed to be moving very slowly in the mid-1960s, despite the Great Society and liberal activist priests. It was only natural, in a media driven society, that something new rose to take its place. That something was Black Power, whose advocates believed that “religion secures people to the system and does it

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this continent, and white Americans are not about to allow that to be upset.” See William Stringfellow, *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land* (Waco, Texas: Word Book Publishers, 1973), 28. While Lawson might have agreed with such a statement, Lilly did not.

Eugene S. Pulliam agreed with Lilly’s support of private organizations answering the problem of housing, rather than the federal government. Pulliam was an avid supporter of Flanner House, a non-denominational outreach and social welfare center on the city’s Westside. See Russell B. Pulliam, correspondence with author, 9 April 1999; *Indianapolis Star*, 20 October 1975.

St. Paul’s today counts several black families as members. They joined not in a spirit of integration, but because they wanted to, along the Lilly line of church membership. Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Gary Lowe, correspondence with author, 14 April 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 104, 111, 120; *Church Militant*, November 1964; Friedland, “Giving a Shout,” 11 January 1999; Moore, *Presences*, 176-177; Konolige, *Glory*, 20; Rev. Richard Roos, interview with author, 23 March 1999.

The middle of the sixties also marked increased problems for the Episcopal Church’s civil rights work in the South, though there were also some victories. In the Diocese of Upper South Carolina, the black and white branches of the Episcopal Church Women were united into one organization. Although the Diocese of Florida was clearly segregated, there was cause for hope. Integration within the denomination started in the early 1960s with Episcopal youth organizations. A civil rights demonstration, which coincided with a Ku Klux Klan rally in St. Augustine, Florida, during 1964, both centered on and threatened the city’s Trinity Episcopal Church. See the Episcopal Diocese of Upper South Carolina, “The Right Reverend John Adams Pinckney,” N.d. <<http://www.edusc.org/html/hist4.html>> (16 October 1998);

in the name of God.” To them, the motives of many whites, such as Moore, in helping the civil rights movement were suspect. Meanwhile, whites in the movement were confused both with this change in rhetoric and with the realization that they benefited from inequality in America despite their involvement in the cause of civil rights. At the same time, this group of liberals was also coming to recognize that President Johnson could not fight both a war on poverty and a war in Vietnam. The civil rights movement was beginning to fragment.<sup>24</sup>

The Kerner Commission, assembled by President Johnson in response to the riots of 1967, announced the following year that the median black family income was 58 percent of a comparable white family. Additionally, the report stated that the United States was “. . . moving towards two societies, one black, one white – separate and unequal.” Despite this, many older blacks were still willing to use legal tactics, as they had in the 1950s, to win more ground in the civil rights struggle. But the younger generation, which was growing increasingly militant, felt that justice could no longer come from the courts. For them, “law and order,” in America, meant “obedience to the law of white people.” They turned to riots, which set back the civil rights movement in terms of white support because it seemed that blacks were unwilling to obey the law. To the younger generation that launched the riots, however, it was the system that had to change. Furthermore, Christianity, in both its white and black forms, seemed to be letting them down. Deferred gratification was not something that they wanted to hear about. Their demand for immediate results opened the door for a change in tactics and of mindset.<sup>25</sup>

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Bentley, *Florida*, 202-206.

<sup>24</sup>Kater, Jr., “Experiment in Freedom: The Episcopal Church and the Black Power Movement,” 69-70; Anderson, *Movement*, 117; Philip Berrigan, *A Punishment for Peace* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 3, 7, 28.

White liberals did not understand the Black Power movement, since calls for Black Power only helped the Republican Party. Those same calls also forced whites out of the civil rights movement. Many whites who supported civil rights were also turned off by the change in tactics and the endorsement of violence. Their sentiments were expressed by Rev. Russell Staines, when he said from the pulpit of St. Paul's that "laws are essential to life." At the same time, whites recognized that the youths had raised valuable questions about a social system that put a premium on equality but did not allow it. Staines said in another sermon that while all were equal before God, not everyone was equally talented. The secret to a happy life, he concluded, was in using to the utmost the gifts that God had given to you. Summing up the feelings of both his congregation and many northern whites, he said "I am not and never have been a social crusader. I do not want the Church to be used, or become identified exclusively with any movement or goal, however worthy its purpose." He did not believe that prejudice could survive where Christianity was proclaimed.<sup>26</sup>

The riots of the late 1960s produced a problem for the Great Society theorists. Should their focus be on fixing the ghetto or helping people get out of it? Additionally, there was also a question of law and order that had to be answered. Things were different in Indianapolis, however. While the Church and the nation were being torn apart by race problems in 1966, Carthy was able to report to his congregation that All Saints was integrated and doing just fine. And at Christ Church, Lawson was able to easily discuss

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<sup>25</sup> McCartney, *Black Power*, 3, 95, 102-103, 108; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 473; Leon Howell and Vivian Lindermayer, eds., *Ethics in the Present Tense: Readings from Christianity and Crisis, 1966-1991* (New York: Friendship Press, 1991), 23; Anderson, *Movement*, 132; Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 201-202.

<sup>26</sup> Sermon, 12 March 1972, Folder 20; Sermons, 15 November 1964 and 19 February 1967, Folder 21; Sermon, 26 January 1969, Folder 19, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul's Archives; Berrigan, *Peace*, 64; Anderson, *Movement*, 158; James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (Washington, D.C.: Open Hand Publications, 1985), 458; James Haskins, *Profiles in Black Power* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1972); Moore, *Presences*, 208; Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999.



the civil rights movement at Ohio State University with the vestry.<sup>27</sup>

But the national problems were on their way to the Circle City. The change within the civil rights movement was noticed by ESCRU, which noted in December 1966 that there was growing “confusion” within the movement. After the riots of 1966, the group drew up a strategy for northern churches to follow in case their cities went up in flames. Boyd was very active, acting as a liaison between ESCRU and the movement. By the summer of 1968, the confusion had cleared and Black Power was at the forefront of the civil rights cause. All Saints changed its summer programs accordingly. When working with black children, the church sought to instill a sense of “empowerment” in them. In November of that year, St. Philip’s received a black pastor, the Rev. John S. Mills.<sup>28</sup>

Robert F. Kennedy, while in the midst of his run for the Democratic nomination in 1968, made his famous Indianapolis speech announcing the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., a mere block away from All Saints to a crowd of over 2,500 mostly black supporters. Unlike other cities that night, Indianapolis experienced no rioting. Rev. Lynch at Trinity preached a sermon about King following the assassination. St. Philip’s was devastated by the news of King’s death. As the city’s only black Episcopal parish, the congregation had placed much of their hopes in King. Thirty years after his murder, they still proudly proclaim that “his dream is our dream.” Following Kennedy’s own assassination later that same year, St. Matthew’s hosted a special

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<sup>27</sup> Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 667; Vestry meeting, 13 September 1966, Vestry minutes 13 September 1966 folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Vestry meeting, 18 October 1966, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>28</sup> Forman, *Black Revolutionaries*, 457; *Church Militant*, December 1966, September 1968, November 1968; Howell and Lindermayer, *Ethics*, 22, 24-25; James Forman, *High Tide of Black Resistance and other Political and Literary Writings* (Seattle, Washington: Open Hand Publishers, Incorporated, 1994), 121-131; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 654; Anderson, *Movement*, 157; ESCRU, *The Church and the Riots: Guidelines for Diocesan Strategy in Northern Urban Areas*, 1966. Boyd was a member of the committee

interdenominational service in his memory.<sup>29</sup>

In 1967, the philosophical shift had arrived in the National Church in full force. White liberals felt that they were not doing enough to help blacks. The National Church came to see social justice in economic terms, which meant giving the disadvantaged more power and money. The failure of President Johnson's two front war on poverty at home and communism abroad, became evident that year when fifty-nine cities were racked by riots. In light of this, at the Seattle General Convention, Presiding Bishop John Hines challenged the Church to allow "self determination" for groups. He said "we in the Church are part of the problem" and that "the winning of the Negro has been slow and entirely unspectacular, but steady and solid." Hines believed that something more was needed, so he called upon the Church to give \$3 million to help "empower" blacks. This figure included funding groups that were not affiliated with the denomination. ESCRU endorsed the idea and a substantially larger sum than Hines had originally requested was accepted by the convention. Because of his "brave" actions, Hines quickly became a hero to Bishop Moore. Though it was seen as a way to find "liberation" from racism, the end result was more problems for the Church, which eventually included a pocketbook boycott.<sup>30</sup>

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that drafted this special report.

<sup>29</sup> Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; *Indianapolis News* 5 April 1968 and 4 April 1978; Rev. Carol Mader (10 o'clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; 18 January 1998 bulletin, Sunday Bulletins 1998 folder, Archives of St. Philip's Episcopal Church.

All Saints was worried, throughout the 1960s, that if a riot occurred in Indianapolis that they would be in the center of it. See Vestry meeting, 18 February 1968, 1968 Vestry minutes folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church.

<sup>30</sup> Kelly, "Long Island," 87, 90; Anderson, *Movement*, 168-169; Forman, *High Tide*, 131; Burr, *Connecticut*, 184; Kater, "Experiment," 74-76; Sumner, *History*, 48; Bentley, *Florida*, 194-195; Sedgwick and Turner, *Moral Teaching*, 77-78; Catherine M. Prelinger, ed., *Episcopal Women: Gender, Spirituality, and Commitment in an American Mainline Denomination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 138-140; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.

As Prelinger points out, the civil rights movement played a large role in equipping feminists for their own battles with the Establishment later. Moore had a good working relationship with Presiding Bishop Hines. See *Presences*, 201-203. In Indianapolis, race relations, though often tense, never flared

Within the Diocese of Indianapolis, there were rumblings of discontent following the Seattle Convention. The vestry of All Saints held a meeting to discuss both Hines' statements and ESCRU. This was also the case at St. Christopher's. The Carmel parish's November vestry meeting was attended by Craine. At that time, Rev. Bertram White told the bishop that he and the parish were concerned with the direction in which the National Church was moving. He told Craine that the Seattle Convention's \$9 million "controversial program" was an "irresponsible distribution of the funds sent to the National Church from local congregations." The bishop said that he was well aware of the worries that his parishes were expressing towards Presiding Bishop Hines' convention address. In December, 1968, St. Matthew's vestry discussed their meeting with Bishop Craine about the diocese's continued support of the National Church after Hines started to implement his convention statements.<sup>31</sup>

Rev. White, not content to just inform his bishop, sent a letter directly to Hines concerning the Seattle Convention. In it he said:

In these most perplexing times there are some of us who do not have time for marches and demonstrations because we are trying, with the help of God, to be faithful where we are with what we have. . . . I came home from Seattle much disturbed. While others saw in your eloquent opening sermon a stirring call to service, I heard that to be poor is somehow sinful, therefore we shall sacrifice truth and dignity for reckless irresponsibility.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the feeling of some Indianapolis Episcopalians, such as Rev. White, Hines' plan was backed by polls of the denomination's members. In 1969, 70 percent of Episcopalians believed that the nation's churches had done an inadequate job when it came to civil rights. Over 90 percent of all Protestant clergy approved of the civil rights

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into riots. See Bernard, *Snowbelt*, 139-140.

<sup>31</sup> Vestry meeting, 2 April 1967, Vestry minutes 2 April 1967 folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Vestry meeting, 5 November 1967, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 2: 1966-1974, Archives of St. Christopher's; Vestry meeting, 13 December 1968, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.

movement, and within the Episcopal denomination that figure reached 95 percent.

However, there was concern within both the denomination and ESCRU that demands for Black Power could ruin everything that the Church was working for.<sup>33</sup>

These fears were soon justified, at both the local and national levels of the Church. James Forman, who was the international affairs director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an organization that had started as King's student movement before evolving into a force of its own, crafted the Black Manifesto. This document marked the decline of King's ideas within the civil rights movement. Forman believed that people had to confront capitalism and that blacks were a "colonized people inside the United States." Like fellow radical Huey Newton, he wanted blacks to organize politically, believing them to be a "revolutionary" force. Forman went to the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit during April, 1969. When he first arrived there, Forman did not believe that much would come of it. However, as he met with other people, a plan of action was crafted. Since "Christians" had organized the conference, Forman believed that something should be done to make Christians pay for their part in America's racist past. Demanding reparations from the nation's churches seemed like a good tactic. Thus, the Black Manifesto was born.<sup>34</sup>

The Manifesto contained two sections, a historical analysis and a list of demands. Overall, it was a very Marxist document, suffused with Black Power rhetoric. The preamble stated: "To win our demands we will declare war on the white Christian

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<sup>32</sup> *The Christopher*, April 1968, Archives of St. Christopher's.

<sup>33</sup> Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 59, 104; Kater, "Experiment," 72-73.

<sup>34</sup> Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 235; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 275-277; McCartney, *Black Power*, 143, 149; Forman, *Black Revolutionaries*, 544-548; Booty, *Crisis*, 60.

Forman, who was no admirer of "Christians," was glad to lead the charge in presenting the Manifesto to the nation's churches. The first congregation to be visited was the Riverside Church in New York. For how statements such as Forman's Black Manifesto contributed to making Black Power into a Black Theology, see Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Liberation Theology: Human Hope Confronts Christian History and American Power* (New York: Paulist Press, 1972), 127-144.

churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country.” Forman called the United States government a “racist, imperialist government that is choking the life of all the people around the world” and claimed that it was “the most barbaric country in the world.” He believed the Manifesto would “bring this government down,” even if “armed struggle” was needed. It demanded \$500 million in “reparations” from the nation’s churches and synagogues, a figure that eventually reached \$3 billion.<sup>35</sup>

The concentration of national church offices in New York City, a by-product of the 1950s, allowed for rapid and dramatic presentations to all of Mainline Protestantism. On May 1, 1969, Forman presented the Manifesto to the Episcopal Church for its consideration. On May 13, he wrote to Presiding Bishop Hines and demanded \$60 million, plus 60 percent of all future income. Though Hines called the Manifesto “calculatedly revolutionary, Marxist, inflammatory, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian,” he did not reject the document out of hand. Instead, he decided to call a special convention of the Church later in the year to address Forman’s demands.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Reeves, *Empty*, 138; Haskins, *Profiles*, 135.

<sup>36</sup> Findlay, *National Council*, 200-203; Booty, *Crisis*, 61; Haskins, *Profiles*, 136.

All the Mainline denominations were confronted by the Manifesto, with varying results. Forman demanded \$60 million from the American Baptist Convention, which was denied. The General Board of the Disciples of Christ rejected his demands for money directly, but did launch a \$2 million “reconciliation campaign.” The Evangelical Lutheran Church was requested to pay \$50 million. The Presbyterians caved in to Forman’s demands. He demanded that they pay him \$80 million and grant blacks 60 percent of their future profits. The Presbyterians instead voted to raise \$50 million for minority related projects. The United Church of Christ had Forman speak at its General Synod, after which they pledged to raise \$10 million for him. The United Methodist Church agreed, in part because of the Manifesto, to spend \$4 million on minority community efforts. See Reeves, *Empty*, 138-140.

Indianapolis’s Second Presbyterian Church denounced its own denomination for giving in to Forman. The church said: “As to the Black Manifesto itself, while we understand that a great deal of rage is boiling in many black hearts today and while we believe the Christian Church must do everything it can, responsibly, to help relieve the plight of the oppressed black man, nonetheless, we feel the Black Manifesto should be unequivocally repudiated for [its] appeal to force and violence.” The congregation then drew up a plan in case they were visited, but never had to use it. George W. Geib, *Lives Touched by Faith: Second Presbyterian Church, 150 Years* (Indianapolis: Second Presbyterian Church, 1988), 150-152.

Forman might have been able to achieve more had he been used to dealing with the bureaucracies within the white Mainline churches. He also had expected great support for the Manifesto from the Mainline’s black caucuses. However, he was disappointed with them because they were willing to accept

In the months between Forman's presentment and the Special Convention, local congregations were faced with addressing the Manifesto. Christ Church's vestry met to discuss it and decide what to do if the church was "visited" by representatives of the movement. They came up with a plan of action that reiterated that everyone was welcome at the church, however, anyone wishing to speak during the service would only be allowed to do so during appropriate times. It was decided that only clergy members should talk to those wishing to speak and that any interruption would be either ignored or deflected until an appropriate point in the service. Physical confrontation was to be avoided at all costs. Within days of the vestry meeting, the church was visited. Lawson later told the congregation that though proponents of the Black Manifesto were "bad students of history, economics, and social change," and were too immature to use the voting booth to achieve their demands, he believed that they did have a point when they commented that the modern white middle class was a beneficiary of past racial injustices. He also expressed his dismay at those in the congregation who believed that the group should have been stopped from speaking.<sup>37</sup>

St. Paul's did not welcome the Manifesto with open arms. Staines dedicated an entire sermon to the topic in June 1969, entitled "Concerning the Black Manifesto." He said "the Manifesto was read first at the Episcopal Church center in New York. . . . Our Church, for years, has taken a vigorous stand favoring civil rights, and was the first to

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less money from their denominations for their own projects, rather than back Forman's demands. See Forman, *Black Revolutionaries*, 549; Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 240-241.

<sup>37</sup> Vestry meeting, 26 May 1969, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Cathedral News*, 30 May 1969 and 24 October 1969, Cathedral News Folder, 1968-1971, box 8/2/1, CCC Archives; *Church Militant*, June 1969; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999.

Indianapolis's North United Methodist Church, which had a long history of supporting integration and the civil rights movement, was also visited by the Manifesto group. On 1 June 1969, the church was visited by five Manifesto advocates. The pastor in charge, who had no foreknowledge of the visit, allowed them to speak and then conducted the service as planned. Some in the congregation thought he had done the right thing, while others were angry that the group had been allowed to disrupt the service at all. Hester Anne Hale, *A Celebration of Faith: The Story of North Church* (Indianapolis: North United Methodist Church, 1995), 72-75, 90.

spend a considerable sum of money on a program to assist in the development of the black people, with no strings attached. The absurdity of the request [for reparations] is so shocking it is hard to deal with it otherwise than reacting emotionally with anger and resentment.” The idea that if they did not give money, services would be disrupted “is nothing short of blackmail, and must be repugnant to any thinking person.” Staines went on to quote Bishop Craine who said “the manifesto is a document based on violence and socialism; the prologue makes this perfectly clear, and is filled with bad history and impossible theology. It is totally unacceptable to Christians.” Staines finished his sermon by telling his congregation that of the 700 delegates to the Detroit Conference, only 187 had voted for the Manifesto, 63 voted against it, and the rest abstained.<sup>38</sup>

Like Christ Church, St. Paul’s was visited by members of the Black Manifesto movement. But unlike at the Cathedral, services were not disrupted. The reason was the presence of the Rev. John Steeg, an associate priest at St. Paul’s. Steeg had spent much of his time in Indianapolis working with the black community, searching for answers to their problems. To further this goal, he had founded Forward, Incorporated, which brought church, business, and community leaders together to find “Negro answers to Negro problems.” The day that the Manifesto’s supporters arrived at St. Paul’s, Steeg was leading the services. When they saw him at the front of the sanctuary, out of respect for the work that he was doing for them, the Manifesto group turned and exited the church quietly. Only Steeg and the ushers even knew that they were there.<sup>39</sup>

Nativity set its own guidelines for dealing with the Manifesto movement that were far different from the ones Lawson put forward at the Cathedral. On July 14, 1969,

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<sup>38</sup> Sermon, 15 June 1969, Folder 19, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul’s Archives; Alfred Tsang, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999. Surely the recent disruption at Christ Church was on Staines’ mind when he wrote and delivered his sermon.

<sup>39</sup> Patricia Herndon, interview with author, 7 April 1999; Forward Incorporated information.



Rev. Robert Ehr Gott issued a letter to the vestry saying:

When acting as ushers, or if you are in the congregation I shall ask you to do so: In the event of any threatened interruption of services which I cannot handle by dint of being at the altar, ask the delegation or whatever if they will wait until after the Creed to read off their spiel. If they refuse to act in such orderly fashion and want to disrupt the service, then tell them that the service will not be held, and advise me of the situation so that I can send the congregation home and then advise them of our civil rights which have been violated and which we shall immediately call to the attention of the authorities. I.e., if they act or look as though they will be ugly about it, take steps as above.<sup>40</sup>

The Special Convention was held in South Bend, Indiana, from August 30 to September 5, 1969. There, Rev. Paul Washington introduced Muhammad Kenyatta to the convention. Kenyatta, one of Forman's lieutenants, presented the Manifesto to the governing body of the Church. He told the delegates that their denomination was "part of the present racist struggle," and that Forman's Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), an outgrowth of the Manifesto's birth in Detroit, was declaring war on racism, capitalism, and imperialism. In waging their war, they did not rule out the use of violence to achieve their goals.<sup>41</sup>

After the address, the Episcopal Church voted to reject the BEDC's rhetoric, but agreed to give \$200,000 to black Episcopalians, many of whom supported the BEDC.

Hines ordered the money to be spent by the General Convention Special Program

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<sup>40</sup> Ehr Gott to vestry, letter, 14 July 1969; 1969 Vestry Minutes and Treasurer Reports, Box 1, Nativity Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Sumner, *History*, 51-53; Prichard, *History*, 260-261; Kelly, "Long Island," 91-93, 233; Kater, "Experiment," 72; Moore, *Presences*, 204; Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 234; John D. Beatty, *Beyond These Stones: A History of Trinity Episcopal Church, Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Fort Wayne: Trinity Episcopal Church, 1994), 206-207; Bentley, *Florida*, 195.

Kenyatta, Forman, and the concept of reparations found avid support within the denomination from Philadelphia based priest, Rev. Paul M. Washington. Washington believed the Black Manifesto cause to be "moral," and personally helped Kenyatta to work both within the Diocese of Pennsylvania as well as at the South Bend convention. For more, see Paul M. Washington, *"Other Sheep I Have": The Autobiography of Father Paul M. Washington* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 87-95.

The idea behind holding the special convention was to bring into focus ideas (including the Manifesto) that were being discussed in the Church, so that they could be properly debated at the upcoming Houston General Convention. See Robert J. Center, *Our Heritage: A History of the First Seventy-Five Years of the Diocese of Northern Indiana* (South Bend: Peterson Printing Company, 1973), 64.

(GCSP), which believed that they should support black causes, not just black Episcopal causes. ESCRU argued that the money, despite what the convention said, should be given to the BEDC. National black church groups, such as the National Committee for Black Churchmen, supported the Manifesto and the money its demands had brought to them.<sup>42</sup>

Lay opinion was against the Manifesto from the start. Whites, in particular, were against the idea of reparations. Parishioners warned that support for the Manifesto would lead to a boycott of pledges and it did. When the Rev. David Gracie sought “reparations” for blacks in Philadelphia, the result was to strengthen the resolve of the boycotters. By 1972, the Church had paid out \$6.5 million to minority improvement projects through GCSP. The pocketbook boycott that developed eventually forced Hines to resign. His sanctioning of money to non-church affiliated groups did not help ease tensions brought about by the Manifesto within the denomination. The Church supported not only black empowerment groups, but also gave money to Native American and Hispanic organizations. Some of the money was used to support violent actions. In 1970 the Internal Revenue Service warned the Episcopal Church that donations to political groups were endangering the denomination’s tax exempt status. The more conservative John M. Allin, Bishop of Mississippi, replaced Hines in 1973. The new presiding bishop ended the GCSP soon after taking office. By the time he did, however, the body had spent \$7 million.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Kater, “Experiment,” 77; Findlay, *National Council*, 207; Haskins, *Profiles*, 137.

The Indianapolis Church Federation, though it never endorsed the Manifesto, did call it a “symbol of remaining unmet needs of minority groups.” Mainline Churches across the nation felt compelled to respond to the Manifesto, but were frightened by the rhetoric. See Becker, *Sovereign*, 106-107; Findlay, *National Council*, 212.

<sup>43</sup> Findlay, *National Council*, 205-207; Reeves, *Empty*, 140; Konolige, *Glory*, 34; Kelly, “Long Island,” 97-102; Sumner, *History*, 48-50; Bryan V. Hills, *Can Two Walk Together Unless They be Agreed?: American Religious Schisms in the 1970s* (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1991), 102; Findlay, *National Council*, 142-143, 220; Prichard, *History*, 264; Prelinger, *Episcopal Women*, 151; Kater, “Experiment,” 80.

Craine tried to stem the tide of discontent within the Diocese of Indianapolis over the outcome of the Special Convention. He told the diocese that blacks should be more involved within the Church because it was the Christian thing to do, not because of the demands of the Manifesto. He did not agree with those who believed that the \$200,000 given to black Episcopalians amounted to a capitulation on the part of the Church to the Manifesto. Though the convention delegates believed they had been doing the proper thing, the decision angered many in the pews, who believed that the Church had given in. Pledges dropped off sharply. The National Executive Council had to reduce its staff by 25 percent and its support services by 15 percent by 1970.<sup>44</sup>

Though Nativity had taken a tough stand against having its services disrupted, Rev. Ehr Gott made sure that the congregation knew where he stood on civil rights on the whole. In his "Rector's Charge" in January, 1971, he said, "some of us have been disturbed by the overly-zealous funding of some black causes. . . . But very little of that has 'gone wrong.'" He believed that people were actually angry that the Church was funding any black programs. Nativity lost three families after South Bend and three more following the Houston Convention.<sup>45</sup>

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The pocketbook boycott's effectiveness is proof of the Konoliges' assertion that the laity within the Episcopal Church are fairly conservative. As Robert Center points out, though the laity was assured that only National Church money was going to be spent on programs, many believed that the money was simply being funneled to groups endorsed by Forman, though National Church organizations. Center, *Heritage*, 68.

<sup>44</sup>*Indianapolis News*, 27 September 1969; *Cathedral News*, 12 September 1969, Cathedral News Folder, 1968-1971, Box 8/2/1, CCC Archives; *Church Militant*, September 1969, November 1969; Bentley, *Florida*, 195; Booty, *Crisis*, 61.

Reaction to the Manifesto was mixed nationally. The black Episcopal clergy in New Orleans came out against the Manifesto. Within the Diocese of Long Island, the Archdeaconry of Brooklyn supported the South Bend Resolution wholeheartedly. Brooklyn was an area of strength for the Black Power movement within the diocese, which caused some tension between the parish priests and the bishop. In St. Louis, the reaction was similar to that in Brooklyn. The Black Manifesto spawned the Action Committee to Improve Opportunities for Negroes (ACTION). For a time, the organization found housing in St. Stephen's Episcopal Church. However, as the group's antics grew, Bishop George L. Cadigan ended the relationship. See *Church Militant*, June 1969; Kelly, "Long Island," 154-156; Rehkopf, "Reactions," 460-461.

<sup>45</sup> 1969 Parochial Report and Annual Parish Meeting, January 1970; 1970 Parochial Report and Annual

St. Christopher's took a hard line towards the proceedings at South Bend, in some part due to the fact that they lost \$3,000 in pledges following the convention. The vestry passed a series of resolutions concerning what had taken place. They said, in part, that "we do and will continue to reject any and all programs of self-help and self-determination for any and all peoples which are based on violence and the over-throw of the Government of these United States of America." The vestry also attacked the NCC, saying "...many of the socio-political programs of the National Council of Churches of Christ are repugnant to many Episcopal Christians." The vestry wanted association with the NCC to be voluntary and for the National Church to stop giving money to the organization. Bishop Craine came to the next vestry meeting of the parish. He told them that while he did not agree with many of the things that the Church had done since Seattle, he also did not want to see a boycott begin, because it would only hurt local parishes in the long run.<sup>46</sup>

Rev. White was not finished with the issue, however. In the October issue of *The Christopher*, he called the South Bend Convention "demonic" and considered the whole event "a nightmare." He summed up the convention to his congregation in the following way:

While James Forman did not make an appearance, he was in South Bend last Friday instructing his troops and left in command Muhammed Kenyatta. . . . It was Mr. Kenyatta who forcefully took the microphone on Sunday evening. . . . The corporate feeling of paranoia, the feeling of abuse on the part of the black community has collided head-on with the corporate feeling of guilt in the white community. That in a nut shell is the essence of the stupidity of South Bend and a stupidity on which Satan is capitalizing. . . . I consider myself a priest who cares but who will not submit to the intimidation and blackmail as did our convened body in South Bend.<sup>47</sup>

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Parish Meeting, January 1971, Box 2, Nativity Archives.

<sup>46</sup> Vestry meetings, 14 September, 5 October, and 2 November 1969, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 2: 1966-1974, Archives of St. Christopher's.

<sup>47</sup> *The Christopher*, October 1969, Archives of St. Christopher's.

St. Matthew's responded to South Bend by having its vestry pass a resolution that said "the vestry of Saint Matthew's reaffirm its confidence and trust in the democratic process of the Episcopal Church and records its support for contributing to the Christian development of all communities; but strongly denies violence or the advocacy of violence in any form, and reaffirms withholding funds from any organization which preaches or practices violent or revolutionary change." At St. Alban's, the events at South Bend were cause of concern for the vestry and rector. In October, the vestry voted a resolution very similar to the one passed at St. Matthew's. Though it did openly condemn the Black Manifesto, St. Alban's statement went on to argue that those against the Manifesto should work within the denomination to block its implementation.<sup>48</sup>

St. Paul's took a similar line. In a sermon following the South Bend Convention, Staines told the congregation that what had happened in South Bend was not giving in to the demands for reparations, because the National Council of Black Churchmen was not related to the Black Economic Development Committee. He said "I would not give one thin dime in answer to the demands of the Black Manifesto." But he was willing to support the people of his own denomination.<sup>49</sup>

Trinity came face to face with one of the organizations that the National Church was supporting following South Bend. The Black Radical Action Program (BRAP) established an "African-American house" in the parish's neighborhood, utilizing \$47,000 from Bishop Hines. People began to ask what the church was doing to help those who lived around it. The vestry replied that it was doing plenty, but quietly. The general sentiment was that while BRAP was here today, they would be gone eventually. Trinity,

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<sup>48</sup> Vestry meeting, 15 September 1969, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives; Vestry meetings, 12 September 1969 and 3 October 1969, Brown folder, Miscellaneous box, St. Alban's Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Sermon, 14 September 1969, Folder 19, box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul's Archives.

on the other hand, was going no place.<sup>50</sup>

Working for civil rights in the North was much more complicated than in the South. The North's suburban exodus created cities just as segregated as any in the South. In most cities across the nation there were restrictions on where blacks could live or buy homes, but a new tactic emerged. Unscrupulous real estate agents told whites that their neighbors were selling, whether they were or not. The result was "blockbusting," where agents could purchase entire city blocks cheaply and sell the homes to blacks at a profit. As a neighborhood started to "go black," more whites moved out. The community around St. Alban's, on the city's Eastside, was affected by this tactic. To combat it, the church joined the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhood Associations, which came out against all "for sale" signs and hoped to "stabilize" the neighborhood. Through such efforts, the church continued to stay at the center of its neighborhood and was open to blacks becoming members. At St. Paul's, the issue was not blockbusting, but rather school busing. Staines said "it is possible to establish an outward integration of our public schools by some process or another. But only the people of America can choose to live together as members of the same community. Proximity can be forced upon us by law, or circumstances, but not community."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Vestry Meetings, 9 September 1968 and 11 November 1968, 1968 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1960-1969, Trinity Archives. The vestry proved to be correct, though they were forced to answer initially the same type of question in 1973. See Vestry Meeting, 10 September 1973, 1973 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes 1970-1979, Trinity Archives.

<sup>51</sup> Findlay, *National Council*, 173; Prichard, *History*, 242; Sermon, 29 August 1971, Folder 21, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul's Archives; James Gilbert, *Chance*, 106; Robert Emmett Curran, "History of a Changing Neighborhood," *America* (15 June 1968), 773-775. In the article, Curran describes the "blockbusting" that has occurred in the neighborhood where he grew up in Baltimore.

One of the secrets to St. Alban's success, and a point of pride for its members, is its long time sponsorship of Little League baseball for the area. In the 1980s, the city, state, and federal governments poured money into the area to revitalize the Devington area. They were joined in the effort by both the area's churches, including St. Alban's, and by private groups, such as the Lilly Endowment. Not all the neighborhood's churches were up to the challenge, however. The changing neighborhood caused Devington Baptist, a predominately white congregation, to leave the area in 1978. The congregation changed its name to Castlevew Baptist and moved to the Fishers area. It sold its property to the

The laity of Mainline churches saw activism as a good thing in principle. However, they did not like specific initiatives that hit close to home, nor “binding statements” that were made on behalf of the “whole church.” “Radical social activism” repelled members. Nationwide, 72 percent of all laity did not think that clergy should walk a picket line, a shift in opinion that helped cause ESCRU to dissolve in 1970. Orthodox believers tended to not want government intervention on behalf of minorities. When court ordered busing reached the white suburbs in the early 1970s, another backlash started. Desegregated, but more importantly, forcibly integrated schools, caused problems.<sup>52</sup>

The issue of civil rights opened up the Episcopal Church to discussing and confronting other social issues, something that the clergy often enjoyed dealing with, but the laity stayed away from. Moore tried to address these social problems in a new city when he became Bishop of New York. Bishop John Spong of Newark continues to fight for integration today. Even today, racism is still believed to be a problem that the Episcopal Church and the Diocese of Indianapolis should confront. Bishop Catherine M. Waynick expressed her belief that confronting racism was something that a bishop should do while she was under consideration for the post in Indianapolis.<sup>53</sup>

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predominately black Zion Hope Baptist church. See Jeanne Atkins, interview with author, 2 November 1998; *Indianapolis Star* 12 December 1982; *Koinonia* newsletter, May 1977, 1977 folder, Newsletters box, St. Alban's Archives; *Indianapolis News*, 20 June 1981; *Northside Topics*, 22 November 1978.

<sup>52</sup> Roof, *Community and Commitment*, 163, 169; Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 98; Hadden, *Storm*, 135; Findlay, *National Council*, 213; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 732; Canon Mary Ringwald, correspondence with author, 16 September 1998; Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 130.

Gunnar Myrdal, in his *An American Dilemma* (1944), first put forward this notion. He argued that while Americans believe in the American Creed that “all men are created equal,” they rationalize away the creed as it asks them to do more for their fellow man. Prof. Frank Westie found support for Myrdal's assertion in a 1957 study of Indianapolis. See Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 146-150; Frank R. Westie, “The American Dilemma: An Empirical Test,” *American Sociological Review*, 30 (August 1965), 531-532; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944).

<sup>53</sup> Kelly, “Long Island,” 9-10; Konolige, *Glory*, 330; Moore, *Bishop Wrong*, 62; St. Timothy's Episcopal



Older white members did not understand the “fuss” about integration within their Church. While they agreed with Lilly that anyone who wanted to join could, they also believed that minorities would not feel welcome in their church. The laity were correct. By 1974, there were over 100,000 black Episcopalians in the nation. They had grown in numbers in large part because of immigration from the West Indies, and in power because of the civil rights movement and the work of ESCRU. In 1989, there were 141,000 black Episcopalians, making up only 5 percent of the denomination.<sup>54</sup>

Just as Reinhold Niebuhr predicted in 1949, blacks had been faced with a difficult situation. They could not depend upon whites to “do the right thing,” nor could they violently seek their rights. At the same time, by using non-violence and non-cooperation they had been able to achieve many goals, but not full equality. There was some success, but radicalization alienated many people, both white and black, from helping more. There is little doubt that the movement, in both its forms, challenged white America. Whites were forced to take a look at themselves and realize that “everything you held dear was being torn asunder, but some of the things you held dear weren’t good.” Additionally, the debate over civil rights opened the door for other conflicts to enter and assail the Church from within.<sup>55</sup>

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Church, “Question Responses,” N.d. <<http://www.avcnet.com/church/Search/WaynickQues.htm>> (30 October 1998). Kelly’s opinion is that the Diocese of Long Island did not do enough to support civil rights. See Kelly, “Long Island,” 247-249.

<sup>54</sup> Konolige, *Glory*, 375, 379; Robert A. Bennett, “Black Episcopalians: A History from the Colonial Period to the Present,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 43 (September 1974), 242-243; Roof, *Mainline*, 142.

<sup>55</sup> Niebuhr, *Moral Man*, 252-254; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Wilmore, *Black Religion*, 237.

## Chapter Three

### The War in Vietnam

#### For the Army:

**“O Lord God of Hosts, stretch forth, we pray thee, thine almighty arm to strengthen and protect the soldiers of our country. Support them in the day of battle, and in the time of peace keep them safe from all evil; endue them with courage and loyalty; and grant that in all things they may serve without reproach; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

The war in Vietnam divided the Episcopal Church like no other issue, including civil rights, during the 1960s, clearly showing the divide between the denomination's hierarchy and many of its priests on the one hand and the majority of the laity on the other. It struck at the heart of the denomination, which as the “Church of Presidents,” had so often been called upon to bless the nation's wars. America was believed to have a unique, moral power, which could be used for good or evil. World War II was remembered as a good war, where the fighting and sacrifice had been worth it. In the nation after World War II, people believed that the United States had to lead and that it must defend itself from all threats, both foreign and domestic. Vietnam was seen in both terms, and, for the first time, it raised the question if God was fighting for or against America in the postwar world.<sup>1</sup>

In the late 1940s, the Episcopal Church was staunchly anti-Communist. Within the Church the “domino theory” was discussed. The theory was a belief that the loss of any one Asian nation to communism endangered the entire region. In 1960, America was

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<sup>1</sup> John Booty, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publishers, 1988), 73; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 8, 80; Robert S. Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving from Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 23; David W. Lotz, ed., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 352; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), 19-20. Niebuhr took the opposite position of the antiwar movement and radicals such as the Catholic priest/brother duo of Daniel and Philip Berrigan would later take.

presented with a choice between two cold warriors who believed in the theory, John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. Both presidential candidates were focused on containing Communism around the world. In 1961, the *Church Militant* printed a list of “crises in our culture.” At the top of the list was communism. In this climate, John Stormer released his anti-Communist manifesto, *None Dare Call it Treason* (1964), which was widely read across the country. The book argued that the Cold War was a real war that had to be fought and won, and that Vietnam was one of the hot spots. So, to cold warriors, both within and outside of the Church, communism was a real danger and Vietnam was a test of national resolve. Many believed that the United States had to stop the dominoes from falling, or face fighting “the reds” on its own shores.<sup>2</sup>

Though Americans thought they saw the issue clearly, in reality Vietnam presented a dilemma for the nation. Ho Chi Minh, leader of North Vietnam, was both a nationalist and a communist. President Dwight Eisenhower had resisted calls to help the French in their colonial war against Ho, and his decision not to intervene was popular with most Americans. At the same time, however, many policy experts came to view Southeast Asia as particularly vulnerable to communist takeover; hence the popularity of the domino theory. But after Kennedy’s election in 1960, U.S. policy was taken over by an East Coast bred and Episcopalian dominated Establishment, which thought that Eisenhower had underestimated the communists. The Establishment wanted nothing less

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<sup>2</sup> John A. Stormer, *None Dare Call it Treason* (Florissant, Mo.: Liberty Bell Press, 1964); Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time For War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 88, 124; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 58; James Gilbert, *Another Chance: Postwar America, 1945-1968* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 191; Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 120; Booty, *Crisis*, 73; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 436; *Church Militant*, February 1961; William Scarlet, ed., *The Christian Demand for Social Justice* (New York: Signet, 1949). Scarlet was Bishop of Missouri at the time *Demand* was published. The book, among other things, discusses communism and Christianity as being on opposite ends of how to achieve social justice.

The other issues that made the list in the *Church Militant* were race relations, atomic energy, and the population explosion. The diocese’s churches were active in civil defense. Trinity was asked to become a fall-out shelter in 1962. After some discussion, the church agreed. See Vestry Meetings, 10 September 1962 and 12 November 1962, 1962 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1960-1969,

than a victory over Ho Chi Minh and so American advisors were soon on their way to Vietnam.<sup>3</sup>

Such feelings were not yet as prevalent in the heartland. In fact, in the Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis, an effort was being made to distance the Church from organizations that many, including Stormer, believed to be sympathetic to Communism. In June 1961, Bishop John Craine issued a statement about the National Council of Churches (NCC) to the Diocese of Indianapolis. He reminded his flock that the NCC did not speak for the Episcopal Church and that, in his opinion, it spoke “too often and too loudly” on many subjects. Rev. Ernest Lynch of Trinity agreed with the bishop completely. One of the subjects that the NCC would soon focus on was Vietnam.<sup>4</sup>

Vietnam sparked a conflict within the heart of Episcopal America at all levels: from the individual member, to the parish, to the diocese, and right up to the National Church. For a generation that had come of age during World War II, when the entire nation was patriotic, the war made no sense. They had been raised to fight to win any war the country got involved in. Because of belief in the domino theory, many felt compelled to support the American intervention in Vietnam. At the same time, in the back of their minds, many heard the words of General Douglas MacArthur admonishing the nation to “never get involved in a land war in Asia.” And as the years went on and the war continued, many came to question their initial support. Furthermore, many of their children had already decided to be against the war.<sup>5</sup>

While only a small percentage of the denomination’s clergy actually took part in

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Trinity Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 292, 298; Schulzinger, *War*, 33, 42, 45, 97, 104-105, 126; Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory: America’s Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 282-286.

<sup>4</sup> *Church Militant*, June 1961; Vestry Meeting, 9 October 1961, 1961 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes 1960-1969 Box, Trinity Archives.

the antiwar movement, since the great majority of priests were either pietists or conservatives, the Episcopal Church did have a number of priests who became involved and were vocal on the subject. As had been the case with the civil rights movement, the majority of those who did speak out came from the ranks of the denomination's hierarchy "where they were not subject to direct pressure from the laity and did not risk losing their jobs." This number included Paul Moore and Malcolm Boyd, both men with Indianapolis ties. While Boyd would grab headlines for the movement with his antics, Moore's antiwar opinion had a more direct effect on the Circle City's churches. The man who replaced him at Christ Church, Peter Lawson, followed the bishop into the movement from the pulpit.<sup>6</sup>

In 1962, the Episcopal Church was in a state of confusion over the issue of war. It believed that limited war was acceptable, but that massive retaliation with nuclear weapons was evil. The experience of Vietnam so changed the Church that by 1981 it was nearly a pacifistic denomination. The Church never took an official stand on the war. Because of this non-action, the Church allowed local clergy to make pronouncements that seemed to speak for the entire denomination. Those who spoke out, as Lawson would, often did so against the wishes of their parishioners.<sup>7</sup>

Moore, while he was dean of Christ Church, had acted carefully when discussing social issues with his congregation. Christ Church in the 1950s was conservative socially, liturgically, and politically. Moore started his ministry with Biblical sermons

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<sup>5</sup> Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999.

<sup>6</sup>Michael B. Friedland, "Giving a Shout for Freedom: The Reverend Malcolm Boyd, the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements of the 1960s and 1970s," *Vietnam Generation Journal* (March 1994), <[http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s.Texts.Scholarly/Friedland\\_Boyd\\_01.html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s.Texts.Scholarly/Friedland_Boyd_01.html)> (11 January 1999). (Henceforth, Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Timothy F. Sedgwick and Paul Turner, eds., *The Crisis in Moral Teaching in the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Moorehouse Publishing, 1992), 96-97, 103; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: Does Organized Religion Matter Anymore?* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1998), 140.

and avoided social justice issues that could cause a rift between himself and the laity. He later warned that young priests, full of missionary zeal, who wanted to tackle problems head on, could come across as very radical to the laity. Obviously, this could cause very real problems if the priest in question did not have a personal relationship with his parish's members. Unfortunately for both himself and for the congregation he served, Peter Lawson did not heed his predecessor's advice.<sup>8</sup>

Lawson's problems developed soon after he came to Christ Church in 1964, and involved the politics of Vietnam. During the presidential campaign of that year, Barry Goldwater looked like a radical when he talked about Vietnam. Very careful about his own image, Lyndon Johnson portrayed himself as the peace candidate, going so far as to imply that Goldwater wanted to lead the nation into a nuclear war over Vietnam. This political attack soon had the desired effect, as the public came to view Goldwater as an extremist. At the same time he was blasting Goldwater over Vietnam, Johnson was secretly planning to do many of the same things that his opponent called for. Perhaps Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral (Episcopal), sensed this. In a famous "plague on both your houses" speech, he attacked both Goldwater and Johnson from the pulpit of the National Cathedral prior to the election. This helped set the stage for latter attacks from pulpits across the country, including some in Indianapolis.<sup>9</sup>

Only one out of eight lay respondents to sociologist Gerhard Lenski's study thought that clergy should take a position on a candidate for office. Lawson did more than that. Like Sayre at the National Cathedral, he discussed the specter of war openly. In mid-1964 John G. Rauch, Sr., senior warden of the vestry, warned the dean to either

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<sup>8</sup> Paul Moore, *Presences: A Bishop's Life in the City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 143; Paul Moore, *The Church Reclaims the City* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1964), 77, 87.

<sup>9</sup> Gilbert, *Chance*, 223; Schulzinger, *War*, 134, 141-143; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 158; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 559; Konolige, *Glory*, 33, 226, 359-361. Sayre was the grandson of President Woodrow Wilson, and noted for his political and social activism.

preach or go into politics, but not to preach politics from the pulpit. Lawson supported those within the Episcopal Church who condemned Goldwater as a racist and warmonger at the St. Louis General Convention. An anti-Goldwater statement was drafted by William Stringfellow and signed by over 700 Episcopalians. It was not signed by Craine, however, who denounced the statement. Eli Lilly also took offense at the statement, as well as Lawson's comments in support of Johnson. Lilly supported Goldwater enthusiastically.<sup>10</sup>

Bishop Moore believed that Lawson had gone too far and that his actions were "inappropriate." It was a mistake for him to tell people, from the pulpit, who to vote for. Moore had always followed the rule that a pastor should preach about the issues, and let the congregants draw their own conclusions as to who would best attain a resolution of social problems, but should never endorse one candidate over another. As will be discussed later, Lawson's endorsement of Johnson was the first shot in a war that would divide the Cathedral and pit the dean against Lilly.<sup>11</sup>

Vietnam consumed Johnson after his victory over Goldwater in the presidential election. He saw the war as a test of strength for the nation. The majority of Americans agreed with the president that the communists must be stopped in Vietnam and liked his policies regarding Vietnam. However, the war diverted both Johnson's and the nation's attention away from his Great Society programs. The president, backed by the Establishment, did not want to "lose" Vietnam to the communists. What Johnson failed to realize was that he faced, in Ho Chi Minh, an opponent who was willing to lose one million men to see his nation reunited. In the end Ho's resolve was greater than

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<sup>10</sup>James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 234-235; *Church Militant*, November 1964; Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1961), 154.

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.



America's.<sup>12</sup>

By the late 1960s, the war became a bigger story than civil rights. It was seen as an anomaly by many blacks. The same government that would not use force to secure civil rights at home was willing to use force abroad to "advance democracy," killing whites, blacks, and Asians in the process. Some white liberals, as well as many black activists, started to view the war as racist, because Americans were killing people of color. The shift in political and presidential interest from civil rights to Vietnam also attracted the concern of many of the nation's clergy, with explosive results.<sup>13</sup>

This group of white liberals, black activists, and clergy came to see the war in Vietnam as morally ambiguous. Increasingly, they did not understand why the United States was fighting in Vietnam. On December 4, 1965, a month before the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) passed a similar resolution, the NCC voted to call on President Johnson to end U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. The vote was ninety-three in favor of the resolution and ten opposed, with six abstentions. This was the first time in its history that the NCC had criticized any U.S. foreign policy position. It was also the first religious body to take a stand against the war in Vietnam.<sup>14</sup>

In February of 1966, the NCC repudiated the "reliance on military methods by all parties in the conflict in Vietnam." Some of Indianapolis's Church Federation members were not pleased with the national body's declaration. As the NCC continued to move to

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<sup>12</sup> Gilbert, *Chance*, 217, 224; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 596-597; Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Ronald B. Flowers, *Religion in Strange Times: The 1960s and 1970s* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984), 8; John T. McCartney, *Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Political Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 129; Philip Berrigan, *A Punishment for Peace* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 31, 71-72; James F. Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 183; Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999.

<sup>14</sup> James Forman, *High Tide of Black Resistance and other Political and Literary Writings* (Seattle: Open Hand Publications, 1994), 102-103; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 28;

the left, the local federation felt pressure from its congregations not to endorse the national body's statement. The NCC's position on the war was bolstered by the founding of the interdenominational Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV). Though the organization was critical of the war, at this time it did not call for immediate withdrawal, nor for protests in the streets. Both Malcolm Boyd and Bishop Moore joined the organization soon after its inception.<sup>15</sup>

The growth of protest against the war within the Church was evident in Indiana, though the state never became a "hotbed" of social unrest. When President Johnson visited Indianapolis in July, 1966, antiwar protesters, several of whom were members of denominations who were a part of the local Church Federation, picketed him on the Circle and were arrested. On the campus of Purdue University, in West Lafayette, where the future Rev. Jack Eastwood was a student, there were speeches made against the war from the pulpit of the local Episcopal church, but little in the form of action. For the most part, Hoosiers, both Episcopal and otherwise, remained in support of the war.<sup>16</sup>

By 1967, the United States had nearly 500,000 troops in Vietnam. This was a far cry from Johnson's promise that the war in Asia would be fought by Asians. The escalation started to make many Americans nervous. Furthermore, Johnson micromanaged the war from Washington, actually picking bombing targets. Soldiers believed that their mission was to "kill communists," not hold positions. It was for this

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Berrigan, *Peace*, 13; Findlay, *National Council*, 182.

<sup>15</sup> Edwin L. Becker, *From Sovereign to Servant: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1912-1987* (Indianapolis: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1987), 75-77; Schulzinger, *War*, 236; Mitchell K. Hall, *Because of Their Faith: CALCAV and Religious Opposition to the Vietnam War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999. By the end of 1966, Boyd was made a member of the CALCAV's national committee, none of whose members served at the parish level within their respective denominations.

<sup>16</sup> Becker, *Sovereign*, 108; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999.

Those in question at the Indianapolis antiwar protest were members of the Disciples of Christ (Christian) denomination. The some DOC members were as active in protesting the war and fighting for civil rights as were their Episcopalian counterparts.

reason, as much as it was because civil rights was being overshadowed, that Martin Luther King publicly came out against the war. When he joined with CALCAV in denouncing the war, for the first time support for the conflict began to drop at St. Phillip's in Indianapolis. Twenty-four Episcopal bishops joined their voices to his, and called for an end to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. It was becoming evident that American Episcopalians were worried about the war. The General Convention of 1967 supported the "Vietnam Christian Service" or conscientious objector option for men of draft age.<sup>17</sup>

In February, 1967, the controversy over Vietnam had reached a fever pitch at Christ Church. Marian Lambert, a member of the church, went with her son to a morning service, just prior to him leaving for Vietnam. Lawson's sermon that day was on the immorality of war, especially Vietnam. Lambert quoted the dean as saying "persons involved in this war [Vietnam] think they are helping to create something that is brave and true and good . . . whereas they are really doing a dirty and degrading thing . . . and are in fact . . . tearing down all that is brave and true and good." Lambert felt that her son, and other soldiers, deserved better from the dean and the Church.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Anderson, *Movement*, 162; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 610, 619; Schulzinger, *War*, 155, 236; Leon Howell and Vivian Lindermayer, eds., *Ethics in the Present Tense: Readings from Christianity in Crisis, 1966-1991* (New York: Friendship Press, 1991), 6; Booty, *Crisis*, 75; Arthur James Kelly, "The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long Island" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 108-109; Rev. Richard Roos, interview with author, 23 March 1999.

The war confused and frustrated the Diocese of Long Island. In the Diocese of California, Bishop Pike was replaced by Bishop Myers. Both men were vocally against the war. See Kelly, "Long Island," 249; Ellwood, *Sixties Spiritual*, 206.

<sup>18</sup> *Indianapolis Star*, 23 February 1967; Madison, *Lilly*, 236.

Lawson's sentiments on Vietnam were again echoed by William Stringfellow. Stringfellow believed that the war was an example of America's immorality and that incidents such as the My Lai massacre, in which South Vietnamese civilians were killed, were the norm for the U.S. military. He believed that both Presidents Johnson and Nixon had been ensnared by a "demonic" military-industrial complex, which was also the same shadowy group who had dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. According to Stringfellow the use of the atomic bomb took place after World War II was over. See William Stringfellow, *An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land* (Waco, Texas: Word Book Publishers, 1973), 70-75, 99.

Lawson's forum on the war in Vietnam, held at the Cathedral that same year, with the approval of Bishop Craine, also angered parishioners. At the forum, the dean said that the Church must be concerned about the conduct of the war and that the Church's concern would cause others to be concerned with America's foreign policy towards the Asian nation. These two events drove people out of the pews of Christ Church and to the congregations of Trinity, St. Paul's and St. Matthew's.<sup>19</sup>

John Rauch, for one, had had enough. On February 24, 1967, he wrote to Moore, asking for help:

I enclose a clipping from the "Star" of this morning. This is symptomatic of Peter Lawson's ineptitude which has resulted in fracturing the congregation of Christ Church Cathedral. It also illustrates, as I tried to tell you in our brief conversation last week, the damaging consequences to 'the Church' of involvement of the clergy in secular activities. Clergymen such as Lawson are simply not qualified by education, training, or experience in economics, politics, sociology, or foreign affairs. They are rank amateurs, dilettantes, and meddlers in matters in which they have no competence to express an opinion, much less to preach to "captive congregations."

Most people go to Church to find some identity with the Infinite and as a spiritual consolation from the ephemeral trials and tribulations of this wretched world. Ministers who presume to preach should deal with basic problems of philosophy, religion and ethics, leaving their congregations to make specific applications in the daily conduct of their lives. They don't want to be told, as Lawson did in October, 1964, to vote for Lyndon Johnson rather than Barry Goldwater. They don't want to be told now that Lawson's candidate is conducting a war which, in his words, "is a dirty and degrading thing."

As I told you before, please help us to "promote" this young man from Christ Church to some other activity where his talents may be better employed.

In your lecture at Butler last week you said that if the Church is to survive it must become more involved in social problems and controversial political issues. This, to my mind, will make a secular, humanistic institution out of it and antagonize those of its members who are religious and seek the aid of spiritual guidance in a mysterious life and universe. Lawson illustrates the point.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Vestry meeting, 21 February 1967, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Rev. Carol Mader (10 o'clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999.

<sup>20</sup> Rauch to Moore, letter, 24 February 1967, Vestry correspondence folder, Box 1/3, CCC Archives. Rev. Lynch agreed with Rauch's basic assessment that the Church was a place of escape from what goes on in

The message was clear to the other parishes in the city. Hoping to avoid a similar problem over politics at their church, the vestry of St. Matthew's voted on July 28, 1967, to prohibit "the use of church property for partisan meetings" of any kind. As antiwar protests grew around the country, Rev. Lynch of Trinity said that he hoped that the youth of the nation would leave the streets and return to church. Rather than use the church as a forum either in support of the war or against it, members of Trinity tended to park political matters "at the door." The reason was that many parishioners, such as newspaperman Eugene S. Pulliam, had other outlets to express their opinion about Vietnam.<sup>21</sup>

But Lynch's voice was not heard in many quarters of the denomination. Many liberals believed that "good" Christians had to take a stand against the war. This meant not being in the armed forces, not paying "war" taxes, not working for "war" industries, and even picketing military bases. This group was increasingly worried about the draft system as well.<sup>22</sup>

In October, 1967, a priest's reaction to the war caused more problems for the Diocese of Indianapolis. The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, the final rector of St. George's, came back to Indianapolis to deliver a speech at Marian College. In the speech, Boyd called for a new "hippie morality," attacked the Lilly family as representing everything that was wrong with America, and then started talking about the nation's involvement in Vietnam.

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the world. See *Trinity News*, Trinity 1969, Newsletters: Trinity News Box, Trinity Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Vestry meeting, 28 July 1967, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew's Archives; *Trinity News*, Late Trinity Season 1967, Newsletters: Trinity News Box, Trinity Archives; Russell B. Pulliam, correspondence with author, 9 April 1999.

St. Christopher's had taken a position similar to the one put forward by St. Matthew's in 1964. See Vestry meetings, 3 March and 6 October 1963 and 12 January and 2 February 1964, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 1: 1956-1965, Archives of St. Christopher's.

<sup>22</sup> Anderson, *Movement*, 208; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 599; Berrigan, *Peace*, 20-21.

The Catholic priest Berrigan brothers were militant in their opposition to the draft. See Daniel Berrigan, *To Dwell in Peace: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

He said “we are in an immoral war” in Vietnam and that the nation was exhibiting “genocidal tendencies.”<sup>23</sup>

Reaction was swift. The *Indianapolis News*, which covered the speech, blasted Boyd as “a militant leftist of extremely democratic tendency -- determined to prove his clerical status need not prevent him from being just as vulgar as any other hippie.” Bishop Craine also acted without delay. He sent a letter to Burton Beck, the executive vice president of Eli Lilly and Company. The bishop asked Beck to show the letter to “other members of the Executive group at the Company, especially those who are Episcopalians.” Craine went on to say that Boyd had come to Indianapolis at the invitation of Marian College, not of the diocese, and that “I was not informed of his coming, and he did not have the normal courtesy to let me know of his presence, and certainly of his intentions. He is one of these men, and we have a few others like him, who obviously likes to attract attention to themselves, and I suppose it is a subtle tribute to the Lilly family that he could not have attracted attention without the misuse of the good name of such splendid people.” Craine allowed the *News* editorial to speak for the diocese, because he felt “that a public statement would only revive attention to this cruel foolishness.”<sup>24</sup>

Other Episcopal priests found more constructive ways to oppose the war. Rev. Donald Jones, later the rector of Nativity, was a draft counselor during the war. He decided to do this after reaching the conclusion that fighting in Vietnam did not meet the necessary moral standards. Though at the time he was attached to a conservative parish in Illinois, he found support from the congregation because he worked within the system and did not openly attack the war. It was a “responsible” thing to do, keeping young men

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<sup>23</sup> *Indianapolis News*, 9 October 1967.

<sup>24</sup> *Indianapolis News*, 9 October 1967; Craine to Burton Beck, letter, 9 October 1967, Nativity folder, Box 2, Nativity Archives.

from fleeing to Canada and working with Selective Service, rather than attacking those involved in the fighting as “immoral” from the pulpit as Boyd and Lawson did.<sup>25</sup>

Indianapolis did not accept the pronouncements of Boyd and Lawson. It was a conservative city, located in the heart of a conservative state. While people did grow troubled by the war, they were not about to speak out against their government. Rev. Frederic Williams recalled that “most people wanted to support their government, but that it [Vietnam] didn’t seem to be a good place to be.” Others were “appalled by some of the antiwar activities.”<sup>26</sup>

This heartland sentiment prevailed for awhile longer. Throughout 1967, President Johnson told the American people that the nation was winning the war, but the surprise Tet Offensive of early 1968 proved him wrong. Though the American military’s counter-attack all but destroyed the Viet Cong, Johnson’s trust factor with the nation plummeted. This turn of events caused him to abandon the race for reelection. The Tet Offensive was, simply put, not supposed to occur. Johnson had assured the nation that the communists were in no position to launch an attack that affected the length and breadth of South Vietnam and included all the country’s major cities. Tet was a military victory for the United States, but because Johnson had lied to the public, raising their expectations beforehand, it was a psychological defeat. Neither the president, nor the war effort, ever recovered from it.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Rev. Donald Jones, interview with author, 16 November 1998. For more on draft counseling, see Schulzinger, *War*, 239. Nativity, under Rev. Jones’ direction, fully supported its members who served during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

Not all of the diocese’s future priests came to the same conclusions about the war that Rev. Jones did. St. James Episcopal Church (New Castle) has as its vicar Rev. David A. Williams. Rev. Williams “enlisted with the U.S. Army in 1965 and served two tours of duty in Korea and two in Vietnam.” See St. James Episcopal Church (New Castle), “St. James Episcopal Church,” N. d. <<http://www.avcnet.com/stjames/>> (11 January 1999).

<sup>26</sup> Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999; William Osborn, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Movement*, 183, 191; Gilbert, *Chance*, 232; Schulzinger, *War*, 259-263; Patterson, *Grand*



By July 1968, even Rev. Staines at St. Paul's had changed his mind about Vietnam. In a sermon entitled "The Wheat and the Weeds," Staines acknowledged his change of heart, though he was quick to add that it had nothing to do with the antiwar protesters. He said, "it isn't the draft card burners, and protest marchers which have altered my thinking. It is men like the army colonel who said: 'We had to destroy an entire village in Vietnam in order to save it.'" Staines' change of heart about the war was similar in nature to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s. Their conclusion about American policy in Southeast Asia was soon echoed across the city, diocese, and country.<sup>28</sup>

Prior to this sermon, little had been said about the war at St. Paul's. Longtime member Sandy Wagner recalls very little mention of the war at the church. She said, "no one really even knew anyone actually fighting over there. I suppose we prayed for the soldiers during the service, but the fallacy of the protests of the sixties and seventies is that it was not the majority participating. Most of us were just going to class and getting our education."<sup>29</sup>

Wagner's sentiments accurately reflect the pulse of Indianapolis as well. In the three month period of January through March 1968, when the Tet Offensive and the American counter-attack occurred, there was very little mentioned about the war itself. Though the *Indianapolis News* obviously provided stories about the offensive, its editorial pages were shockingly void of much opinion about the conduct of the war in light of Tet. Of the 237 possible staff editorials written during those three months, only

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*Expectations*, 680.

According to Anthony O. Edmonds, the Tet Offensive had little direct impact on public opinion about the war in Muncie, Indiana. While there was a rise in letters and columns expressing some doubt about the war effort, there were also calls for an increase in America's military commitment. See Anthony O. Edmonds, "The Tet Offensive and Middletown: A Study in Contradiction," *Vietnam Generation Journal* (March 1994), <[http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...ML\\_docs/Texts/Scholarly/Edmonds\\_Tet.html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...ML_docs/Texts/Scholarly/Edmonds_Tet.html)> (7 January 1999). However, Bishop Wood, who was serving Grace Episcopal in Muncie during the Tet Offensive, remembers his congregation being "conflicted" over the war. He used the church as a forum to vent views on Vietnam. See Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Sermon, 14 July 1968, Folder 19, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul's Archives.

eleven were specifically devoted to the war and all of these took a pro-war stance. In the same period there were eight editorials that denounced anti-war protesters. Additionally, there were three editorials that dealt with anti-communism as well as ten editorials that dealt with defense matters or politics that had some connection to Vietnam. By and large, Indianapolis was more concerned with local matters than it was with the war in Vietnam.<sup>30</sup>

Ironically, even as priests, such as Boyd, continued to speak out against the war, other liberal priests kept quiet. Unlike the previous presidential election and despite the turn of events in Vietnam, Lawson attempted to stay clear of presidential politics in 1968. He called on Christians to “keep their cool” during times of social unrest and to vote, but nothing else. However, after Richard Nixon won the election, Lawson did discuss the disparity between those who have and those who have not. He even quoted a television advertisement that said “while you are eating dinner tonight, 417 people will die from starvation.” Such statements did not help his position at the Cathedral.<sup>31</sup>

However, the denomination as a whole did follow Boyd’s lead. The Episcopal Church became increasingly opposed to American involvement in Vietnam as the war continued. At the 1969 Special Convention in South Bend, where the Black Manifesto was discussed, Vietnam was also an issue. Some priests even held an antiwar protest in the middle of the convention. Both the Manifesto and the war protest angered conservatives within the denomination. And while they could do little at the national level, they did start to make their voices known at the parish level.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Sandy Wagner, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999.

<sup>30</sup> *Indianapolis News*, January-March 1968, analysis by author.

<sup>31</sup> *Cathedral News*, 1 November 1968, 29 November 1968, Cathedral News Folder, 1968-1971, Box 8/2/1, CCC Archives; Friedland, “Giving a Shout,” 11 January 1999; Malcolm Boyd, *The underground church*, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 244.

<sup>32</sup> Robert W. Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing,

St. Alban's vestry was concerned with both facets of the South Bend convention. In the fall of 1969, the vestry passed a resolution condemning both draft dodging and the Black Manifesto. The congregation did not hear sermons attacking the war, because most members were so openly patriotic as to preclude antiwar rhetoric, even if the rector had been inclined to deliver such. And despite the downturn of support for U.S. involvement in Vietnam by the denomination, St. Alban's continued to support members of its congregation who chose to serve.<sup>33</sup>

Nativity also had very little to say about the progress of the war. Its members felt that it was a war that could have been won and that it was a "damn shame" that America had not been committed to winning it. When soldiers chose to make Nativity their church home, they were welcomed and quickly integrated into the life of the church. Several families at St. Matthew's sent their sons and daughters to fight in Vietnam. The congregation was shocked to learn that several young men from Christ Church fled to Canada, rather than serve their country. But as the war went on, sentiment against it did grow in the parish, later bringing some regrets as to how the war had been conducted by Washington. Some members of St. Matthew's felt that America had "no business [being] there [in Vietnam]," or that the war was "not the right thing [for the nation] to be doing." Others felt that the government, just as it had done during Korea, had not fought the war properly.<sup>34</sup>

At All Saints, there was no condemnation of the war from the pulpit and it probably would have fallen on deaf ears even if there had been, since the parish had several of its members deployed to Southeast Asia during the war. While the parish's

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1991), 260-261; Moore, *Presences*, 204-206; Hall, *CALCAV*, 90.

<sup>33</sup> Vestry meeting, 12 September 1969 and 3 October 1969, Vestry meeting minutes, brown folder, Miscellaneous box, and Newsletters, February and March 1968, 1968 folder, Newsletters box, St. Alban's Archives; Jeanne Atkins, interview with author, 2 November 1998.

priests were interested in speaking out on civil rights, they left the issue of the war alone, even though there were people who staunchly opposed the war in the congregation. As the conflict came to a close in the early 1970s, however, there was a sense of general disgust at the government's failure to conduct the war in a way that would have produced an American victory.<sup>35</sup>

In 1970, the National Church called for the release of all prisoners of war and for the United States to pull out of South Vietnam. The following year the Episcopal Church's House of Bishops called for an end to the bombing and for a bilateral troop withdrawal from South Vietnam. In June of 1971, the *Church Militant* reported that the Episcopal National Executive Council had defeated a resolution to call on Congress to abolish the draft by a vote of eighteen to thirteen. Two years later, the National Church again called for the release of POWs and for "peace" education in schools.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of its denomination's pronouncements about the war, Indianapolis Episcopalians remained aloof from the turmoil surrounding the war. Nativity, for

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<sup>34</sup> Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999; John Oaks, correspondence with author, 22 March 1999; Rev. Carol Mader (10 o'clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Margaret Barnard, interview with author, 16 February 1999.

<sup>36</sup> *Church Militant*, June 1971; Kelly, "Long Island," 109-115, 174-175; Reeves, *Empty*, 140.

The other Mainline churches were often not as reserved as the Episcopal Church when discussing the war. The American Baptist Convention called on President Nixon to pull all U.S. forces out of Vietnam by 1971. President Johnson was a member of the Disciples of Christ, and it angered him to no end that his church would not take an official stand on the war. When they finally did, it was in 1973 and they endorsed amnesty for draft dodgers. The Evangelical Lutheran Church had gone on record in 1966 as having "reservations" about escalating the war. In 1967, both branches of the Presbyterian Church expressed concern over America's involvement in Vietnam. That same year, the United Church of Christ expressed doubts whether continued escalation would profit anything. By 1972, they were openly supporting war dissenters. See Reeves, *Empty*, 140-142.

Northwood Christian (DOC) had a long tradition of supporting the nation's wars. However, Vietnam deeply divided the congregation, as did the Cold War with its charges that the National Council of Churches was being run by communist sympathizers. In 1967, Indianapolis's Second Presbyterian Church went on record against its denomination's stance on Vietnam. See Edwin L. Becker, *The Story of Northwood: The First Seventy-Five Years in the Life of Northwood Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (Indianapolis: Northwood Christian Church, 1995), 31-34; George W. Geib, *Lives Touched by Faith: Second Presbyterian Church 150 Years* (Indianapolis: Second Presbyterian Church, 1988), 149.

example, continued to have excellent relations with Ft. Benjamin Harrison, located on the city's northeast side. This relationship caused a rivalry to develop between Nativity and St. Matthew's, since the latter hoped to become the official base church. The contest between the two parishes continued into the late 1970s, with a victory for Nativity. Even Lawson had learned not to discuss the war from the pulpit. In May 1970, having been admonished by his parishioners during the 1968 election, the dean asked the congregation of Christ Church for help in updating the armed services prayer list.<sup>37</sup>

Within the Diocese of Indianapolis, Vietnam most affected the three parishes located in "college towns." As has already been mentioned, St. John's (Lafayette) and Good Shepherd (West Lafayette) dealt with student unrest over the subject at Purdue University, while Trinity (Bloomington) did the same for Indiana University. For its part, St. Paul's (Columbus) sponsored a refugee family from South Vietnam in 1975.<sup>38</sup>

Lay Episcopalians in Indianapolis were more like the nation as a whole than some of their priests were. Anti-Communist sentiment remained high, even after the war turned against the United States. A public consensus on what to do, either to pull out or escalate, never developed. Across the nation, war protesters, even at the height of their strength, were always outnumbered by people who supported the war. This was a cause of continuing frustration for the radicals and of uneasiness for the people President Richard Nixon called "the Silent Majority."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Vestry meeting, 10 February 1973 and 8 April 1973, Vestry Minutes 1972-1974, Box 1, Nativity Archives; Vestry meeting, 22 February 1971, Vestry minutes 1970-1972 folder and Vestry meetings, 9 January 1978 and 6 March 1978, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew's Archives; *Cathedral News*, 22 May 1970, Cathedral News Folder, 1968-1971, box 8/2/1, CCC Archives.

Rev. Ehrgott did have problems with Nativity's proximity to the fort, though it had nothing to do with the war in Vietnam. He simply felt that the fort's population was too transient in nature to warrant much outreach. Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999.

<sup>38</sup>Joyce Marks Booth, ed., *A History of the Diocese of Indianapolis, 1838-1988, Sesquicentennial Edition* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1988), 128-132, 138, 186-188, 228-230; Bishop Donald J. Davis, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999. The then Rev. Davis was sent to Trinity (Bloomington) by Bishop Craine to "heal the divisions" at the church caused by "the war in Vietnam."

<sup>39</sup>Schulzinger, *War*, 215-217, 233-234.

Within the Church, there were many internal changes because of the war.

Prayers for the armed forces were dropped from the 1979 Book of Common Prayer. After Vietnam there were no longer the presentation of the national and denominational flags prior to each service. The war helped unleash social changes and reform movements that would follow the Church long after the fall of Saigon.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *Book of Common Prayer* (1928) and (1979); Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Friedland, "Giving a Shout," 11 January 1999.

## Chapter Four

### Theological Rift

#### The Form and Manner of Ordaining Priests:

**“When the day appointed by the Bishop is come, there shall be a Sermon or Exhortation, declaring the duty and office of such as come to be admitted Priests; how necessary that Order is in the Church of Christ, and also, how the People ought to esteem them in their Office.”**

#### The Ratification of The Book of Common Prayer:

**“This convention having, in their present session, sat forth A Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, do hereby establish the said Book: And they declare it to be the Liturgy of this Church: And require that it be received as such by all the members of the same: And this Book shall be in use from and after the First Day of October, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

The liberal/conservative rift that emerged within the Episcopal Church did so because of the demands placed on the denomination by secularization, growth, civil rights, and the war in Vietnam. But the rift did not reach its zenith until the two camps fought over the internal issues of the ordination of women and the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*.<sup>1</sup>

The best Indianapolis example of the emerging rift is revealed in the story of Christ Church Cathedral. From the moment he took the job, Peter Lawson found himself in the midst of a struggle. In 1965, the same year he had declared civil rights to be “at the heart of the Cathedral,” for the first time in well over a decade Christ Church ran a budget

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<sup>1</sup> There was also a third controversy that was waged within the Church during the 1970s, alongside female ordination and the new Prayer Book, and that was the redefinition of confirmation and communion. Prior to the 1970s, Episcopalians had to be confirmed in the Church before they could take communion. In the 1970s, the Episcopal Church started making confirmation a more adult function (you had to be old enough to come to a decision on your own), while opening communion up to anyone (child or adult) who wished to receive it. This change took some getting used to and was a minor flare up against the backdrop of female ordination and a new Prayer Book. See Charles P. Price and Louis Weil, *Liturgy For Living* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), 115-131.

However, the Diocese of Indianapolis was not spared from debate entirely. For a good example of this debate, see Vestry meetings, 8 September 1974, 16 July 1974, 13 September 1975, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew's Archives. According to Rev. Donald Jones, this debate has all but vanished today, while the other two are still points of contention among Episcopalians. Rev. Donald Jones,



deficit. Lawson was forced to slash funding to Cathedral House and, at the same time he was “preaching politics from the pulpit,” ask his congregation to dig deeper into their pockets to support the ministry of the church.<sup>2</sup>

On the surface, the deficit and the problems confronting the church seemed to have no obvious reason. In the beginning of 1965, Eli Lilly had been elected to a three-year term on the vestry and was named senior warden emeritus. John Rauch was named senior warden. Things looked normal, but there were underlying problems. The turbulence of the 1960s wrecked the work Paul Moore and Lilly had started. Lilly did not approve of the changing times and was disappointed with what the events of the late 1960s did to the work he had started a decade before. In such a changing environment, the liberal Lawson was the wrong man to be heading Christ Church.<sup>3</sup>

Lawson was bright, but lacked Moore’s tact when it came to both the congregation and Lilly. Lawson was only thirty-four years old when he took the job at Christ Church. He was to learn the same lesson that other liberal clergy discovered in the late 1960s and 1970s: Clergy could only “threaten” their laity to a certain point. Once that line was crossed, their parishes lost people, money, and the ability to conduct any activist programs. Their former members, and their money, left for churches that did not threaten their core beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

In December, 1964, Lilly decided something had to be done about Lawson. The

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interview with author, 16 November 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Carl R. Stockton, *Christ Church Cathedral: Sesquicentennial, 1837-1987* (Indianapolis: Christ Church Cathedral, 1987), 23; Vestry meeting, 8 December 1964, Vestry meeting minutes, 1956-1964, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Vestry meeting, 8 June 1965, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Vestry meeting, 25 January 1965, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 233-234. As Madison points out, even Moore has wondered if his relationship with Lilly would have remained the same had he stayed in Indianapolis during the late 1960s.

<sup>4</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 234; Jeffrey K. Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), 226.

conflict caused him to lose sleep. Lilly believed that the Episcopal Church had “swung to the left of all other denominations” and he felt that this trend had to stop. Lilly knew that the more liberal the clergy member, the less conservative the congregation he serves will eventually remain. Though congregations usually have little impact on their ministers’ views, Lilly was willing to try, knowing that if he failed he could follow the trend of conservative members leaving liberal congregations. This is exactly what happened in Lilly’s case. In 1965, in one of the most difficult decisions of his life, Lilly left Christ Church. He resigned from the vestry and as a proctor of the diocese. He and Ruth started attending services at Trinity. He stopped giving money to Christ Church, telling Craine in a letter that “until Christ Church changes from a socialist to a religious organization, I will not give one cent directly or indirectly for its support.” Bishop Moore later said that Lilly’s departure was “a great tragedy for him [Lilly] and Christ Church.” Lilly was not alone in leaving the church, as others followed his lead and example. The “Trinity Exodus,” started by Lilly, gained more momentum following Lawson’s Vietnam sermon.<sup>5</sup>

The Lillys were made to feel at home during their exile at Trinity. In addition to many friends and neighbors at the church, Eli and Ruth had long been a presence in the parish. The Lilly Endowment had helped to finance Trinity’s building projects. Ruth served on the governing board of St. Richard’s School. In short, it was the perfect environment to provide Lilly with the support needed to launch a campaign to retake Christ Church from Lawson.<sup>6</sup>

At the October, 1965, vestry meeting, at which Craine was present, Lawson announced that Lilly had resigned from the body. The vestry then voted their “profound

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<sup>5</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 235-236; Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 84-88; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999; Women’s History Project: 1987, Anna Hipple interview, Box 24/7, CCC Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Vestry meetings, 11 February 1963, 1963 Vestry Minutes Folder, and 8 February 1965, 1965 Vestry

regret” at the resignation and their hope to be able to live up to Lilly’s high standard of leadership. Taking his cue, Rauch asked a barrage of questions of the dean. He wanted to know, in light of the budgetary shortfall, how the congregation was going to cope. Was Christ Church an arm of the diocese, spending more than the congregation could provide, or was it still a parish? After some debate, the vestry voted to continue its current levels of spending. But the opening shots of Lilly’s war to retake Christ Church had been fired.<sup>7</sup>

Good to his word, Lilly stopped money from going to Christ Church, including a Lilly Endowment check for \$25,000. By the end of 1965, the church was facing a budget deficit and ordered cutbacks in programs, such as Cathedral House. The following year, Christ Church sold two properties, bought a smaller deanery, and got a bank loan for \$10,000. Still, the church faced a budget deficit and by now, the vestry was noting discord within the congregation.<sup>8</sup>

To his credit, Lawson did try and reconcile himself with Lilly. His efforts were not rewarded, however, because his sermons continued to be from the left. Lilly started referring to Lawson as “the hippie dean,” and his supporters at Christ Church kept the heat on Lawson. Rauch wrote to Moore and Craine on Lilly’s behalf, hoping that one of them could find a way to get Lawson out of the church.<sup>9</sup> Moore replied that:

As you can imagine, I was deeply distressed by your letter. If Peter should ask me to help him find another position, either now or any time

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Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1960-1969, Trinity Archives.

<sup>7</sup> Vestry meeting, 1 October 1965, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 236; Stockton, *Sesquicentennial*, 23; Vestry meeting, 16 February 1966, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

Though he occasionally attended services at St. Paul’s, Lilly made Trinity his choice for church-in-exile, as did many disgruntled Christ Church parishioners. In addition to stopping his money from going to Christ Church, Lilly also saw to it that Trinity benefited. In 1964, the family endowment gave the church \$25,000. In 1965 this gift was followed by a \$100,000 grant. See Georgianne Strange, *Trinity Episcopal Church: 1919-1969* (Indianapolis: Trinity Episcopal Church, 1969), 90,94.

<sup>9</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 236-238.

in the future, I would be glad to be of any help I could. However, I would not do anything unless he, himself, asked me. I am sure you can understand this.

I hate to think of those I love and admire being at odds one with the other.

I am afraid I would agree with much Peter has done!<sup>10</sup>

Craine, feeling that his hands were somewhat tied as well, promised Rauch that he would talk to Lawson about the events that had caused Lilly to leave.<sup>11</sup> The bishop had foreseen something like this happening several years before the Lawson/Lilly feud erupted. In 1962 he wrote a letter concerning clergy/laity problems:

The basic problem as you so well know does go deeper. There is so much anxiety abroad in America today, and I am sure these sometimes violent expressions of dissatisfaction are symptomatic of it. I am fully conscious of the fact that there are some clergy who could not be helped by guidelines, demonstrations of techniques, or lectures. I so often have the experience of stepping into a situation, calming it and expressing patterns of operation, with seeming understanding on all sides, only to have the personality of the man involved continue to serve as the real barrier.<sup>12</sup>

Lawson was, for the most part, quiet during the 1968 election, for good reason. In October, the dean publicly endorsed Senator Birch Bayh. At the next vestry meeting, Lawson was taken to task for the endorsement. A “lively discussion followed,” with the dean speaking very little. Browbeaten, he kept his mouth shut throughout the rest of the campaign season.<sup>13</sup>

In 1970, Lawson spoke of “a year of crisis.” He also said that there is “no denying that there has been real dissatisfaction on the part of many members” with him as the leader of the Cathedral. In April 1971, the vestry again pounced on Lawson. He was asked about his contract with the church. The dean said that he had a letter spelling

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<sup>10</sup> Moore to Rauch, letter, 3 February 1966, Vestry correspondence, Box 1/3, CCC Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Craine to Rauch, letter, 15 February 1966, Vestry correspondence, Box 1/3, CCC Archives.

<sup>12</sup> Craine to Helen Zaiser, letter, 17 February 1962, Nativity - Origin and Beginning Folder, Nativity Archives.

<sup>13</sup> Vestry meeting, 15 October 1968, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

out the terms of his employment and that he was willing to renegotiate them. He was next asked to keep the office staff apprised of his whereabouts. These two charges angered the dean, prompting him to call the vestry “dysfunctional” and comment on his concerns for the parish’s future. He then announced that he had received a letter from senior warden John W. Woodward, a supporter of his, who was resigning from the vestry. In the letter, Woodward commented on the “divided, hate filled atmosphere” at Christ Church and that it was hampering his walk with God. In a move that startled the vestry, Lawson appointed Helen Basch the new senior warden.<sup>14</sup>

At the following meeting, Lawson assumed the chairmanship of the vestry, rather than allow for an election to fill the post. He then told the body that he had asked Bishop Craine to step in and mediate between the vestry and him. The board then voted to send a letter to Craine requesting the same thing. In the meantime, however, Lawson decided to give up. Like many liberal clergy in urban areas, he too had come to the conclusion that more good could be accomplished by working “in the world,” rather than in the Church.<sup>15</sup> At the June meeting he submitted his resignation to the vestry by letter. In it, he said:

For the last twenty years, I have planned two careers for myself. I believe that life has more to offer than settling into what is routine, comfortable and uncreative. Two years ago I began in earnest the search for a second career.

The time is now come to make that beginning; to make the transition from the life of a professional clergyman to something new and different. In August I will begin a private consulting practice here in Indianapolis. I am very excited by the possibilities that lie ahead for me.

I have submitted my resignation as Dean of the Cathedral to the Bishop. This morning I submitted my resignation as Rector to the vestry. . . . I will function as preacher and liturgical celebrant for the last time on July

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<sup>14</sup> Stockton, *Sesquicentennial*, 23; Vestry meeting, 27 April 1971, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives.

Lawson sent a copy of Woodward’s letter to every member of the congregation. See *Cathedral News*, 7 May 1971, Cathedral News Folder, 1971-1972, Box 8/2/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Vestry meeting, 25 May 1971, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 226.

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Making a change of any kind is difficult. . . . The pain is less and the joy greater because I will remain a priest of the Church and, hopefully, a member of this particular congregation of the Body of Christ.

Beginning a second career does not mean that there is any change in my understanding of the Christian Faith. I believe the basic truth that God loves men and wishes us to love one another. There are many different ways of expressing that love. While some churchmen may think other wise, the church has no corner on the expression of His love. Many commentators have said that the church talks a great game of loving men, but that love in action is found elsewhere. I intend my life to be an expression of my conviction of God's love and I hope that it will grow in the future into an ever better expression of that love.

We have more years of our life together. I hope we can all grow in love that was in Christ, which we have known for one another in the past. I know that we won't unless we continue to gather in His name and celebrate the life He has given us in Jesus Christ.<sup>16</sup>

The battle at Christ Church was over. Though Lawson is remembered at the church today in different ways, all agree that the war between his supporters and those more akin to Lilly's views, took a tremendous toll on the congregation, Lilly, and Lawson.<sup>17</sup>

When Lawson announced that he planned on leaving Christ Church, Craine told Lilly personally. The bishop also stepped in and helped bring the parish back together. Lilly joined in the spirit of reconciliation at Christ Church. As soon as Lawson left the parish, Lilly's money started pouring in. In 1972, the deficit was removed. The following year, Lilly gave the new dean, Rev. Roger Scott Gray, \$70,000 for building

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<sup>16</sup> Vestry meeting, 20 June 1971, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Lawson to Congregation, letter, 20 June 1971, Vestry correspondence, Box 1/3, CCC Archives; *Indianapolis Star*, 2 July 1971; *Church Militant*, September 1971.

Lawson's last sermon, preached on Independence Day, both commemorated American independence from Great Britain, and also celebrated his independence from the burdens of Christ Church. The sermon scripture was from Matthew 5:43, where Christ enjoins His followers to "love your enemies." Lawson said that the sermon "symbolizes so much for me." See *Cathedral News*, 9 July 1971, Cathedral News Folder, 1971-1972, Box 8/2/1, CCC Archives.

Despite what he said in his letter, Lawson would not remain at Christ Church, though he did enjoy a final "swan song" meeting with the vestry. Following the founding of his consulting business, which he used to help former governor Matthew Welsh attempt to win the Democratic nomination for governor, Lawson worked as a "fill-in" priest at Nativity for a time. He eventually left Indianapolis for San Francisco, where he once again took up parish work. See Vestry meeting, 22 June 1971, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; Fred Munds, interview with author, 10 January 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Rev. Robert Giannini, interview with author, 25 March 1999.

repairs, in addition to his annual gift of \$10,000.<sup>18</sup>

The problem, as Lawson discovered, was that he had not heeded Moore's advice. Many liberal clergy did not take time to "cultivate understanding" with their laity, they just launched into projects or gave politically charged sermons. Additionally, Lilly found Lawson to be very unorthodox in his theology. Christian apologist and writer C. S. Lewis summed up Lilly's feelings on the matter. Conservatives did not so much mind that people, even ministers, might honestly hold unorthodox views about the Christian faith, but in the words of Lewis, "what we complain of is your continuing your ministry after you have come to hold them."<sup>19</sup>

Lilly would have been much more at home at St. Paul's than at Christ Church during the 1960s. Rev. Russell Staines continually spoke out from the pulpit about the problems a Lawson type of priest presented to orthodox believers. In a sermon entitled "The Crisis in Man's Soul," Staines said that the crises in the world had their root in a crisis of faith. He also said that "I am equally convinced that the Spirit of Man is breaking down under the strain of trying to uphold values, ideals, goals, morality, and ethics, without belief in a Living God who has established them, and who guarantees them." Earlier he had warned of "moral and spiritual corrosion" and the "spiritual emptiness" that such a path led to. What Staines wanted for his Church was "revolution" based on the orthodox principles of faith.<sup>20</sup>

By 1967, however, the denomination proclaimed that theological freedom and debate were more important than orthodoxy. A case in point was Malcolm Boyd. When asked if he thought Christ was "the true Son of God," Boyd replied that "this is a cliché

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<sup>18</sup> Madison, *Lilly*, 237; Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999; Stockton, *Sesquicentennial*, 23; Vestry meeting, 22 June 1971, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, Box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Cathedral News*, 16 July 1971, Cathedral News Folder, 1971-1972, Box 8/2/1, CCC Archives.

<sup>19</sup> Hadden, *Gathering Storm*, 230; Walter Hooper, ed., *C. S. Lewis: The Grand Miracle and Other Selected Essays on Theology and Ethics from God in the Dock* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), 64.



to me.” He also advocated the teaching of Marx and Freud within the denomination’s Sunday Schools. The National Church declared the concept of heresy to be “anachronistic.” Such theological reorientation caused people to leave the denomination. The fear of reorientation seeping down into local parishes caused St. Matthew’s vestry to require its delegates to the 1968 Diocesan Convention to attend an open meeting of the parish where their views on issues could be discussed beforehand. In 1972, St. Alban’s conducted a survey of its membership, which concluded that while the congregation wanted sermons that had “modern application,” to be more involved in the inner city, and to use the new trial liturgy with “no apology,” it also wanted to remain as conservative as possible.<sup>21</sup>

The goal of the Episcopal Church, ever since its founding during the Reformation, has been to unite all Christians into one Church. The Anglican Communion rests upon two things. The “heritage of faith” resulting from the English episcopate and a worship style based upon the *Book of Common Prayer*. It is not a denomination that demands or expects uniformity of belief, only adherence to these two principles. Theological reorientation jeopardized both of them.<sup>22</sup>

A study of Episcopal seminaries found that students were not being trained very well as priests, but rather as social activists. The denomination was forced to admit to an increasingly hostile laity that students spent less time learning theology in seminary than

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<sup>20</sup> Sermons, 22 March 1970, 27 June 1971, 18 July 1971, Folder 20, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul’s Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Robert W. Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1991), 249; *Church Militant*, September 1967; Malcolm Boyd, *Book of Days* (New York: Random House, 1968), 5, 46; Vestry meeting, 14 June 1968, Vestry minutes 1955-1969 folder, St. Matthew’s Archives; “St. Alban’s Visibility Study,” February 1972, brown folder, Miscellaneous Box, St. Alban’s Archives.

Like many Episcopalians, however, Staines was not worried about such pronouncements. He liked the idea of diversity within the Church, which he believed to be a source of strength. See Sermon, 22 January 1978, Folder 20, Box 5, Record group 1, St. Paul’s Archives.

<sup>22</sup> Holmes, *History*, 12; Bryan V. Hills, *Can Two Walk Together Unless They be Agreed?: American Religious Schisms in the 1970s* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1991), 100-101.

they did learning how to organize a protest movement. The laity were vindicated in their opinion that the new generation of priests did not measure up to the old standard. Conservatives grew increasingly tired of the unorthodox theology that they were hearing from the pulpits.<sup>23</sup>

Theological reorientation caused confusion within Episcopal congregations. The laity in the pews no longer understood their denomination. As early as 1969, many Episcopalians believed that their Church no longer stood for anything, in large part because of what they heard coming from the National Headquarters and the pulpit. A left-wing bias had led to the “abandonment” of church planning, the ending of denominational campus ministries that worked (for ecumenical ones that did not), anti-patriotism, and “empowerment” money. The old idea of being conservative towards God and liberal towards men was breaking down. For Episcopalians, it was about to get worse, as two more issues entered into the debate: Female ordination and revision of the Prayer Book.<sup>24</sup>

No one in the Church was taken by surprise by the debates. In his annual address to St. Paul’s in 1975, Rev. Staines said that “during 1976 our Episcopal Church will have to deal with several important issues, and most of us will await the outcome with considerable interest, some with considerable concern. Perhaps the most important of these for many of us will be in order: the ordination of women to the priesthood; and the

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<sup>23</sup> Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 102-103.

According to an article that appeared in the *Indianapolis News*, a study done for the Church about its seminaries, entitled “Ministry for Tomorrow,” recommended the closing of all the denomination’s seminaries. This would allow for the construction of several, consolidated seminaries in urban centers, putting the students in the middle of urban affairs. The study was only concerned with how seminaries could become more effective in secular affairs and made no mention of theology. See *Indianapolis News*, 7 October 1967 for more. This drive also corresponded to a liberalization of the Church’s traditionally conservative prep schools. See Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of Their Glory: America’s Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 161-162.

<sup>24</sup> Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 101-102; *Church Militant*, September 1964; David W. Lotz, ed., *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 30-31.

revision of the Prayer Book. What action will be taken none of us knows but I am sure we all will be able to live with whatever decision is made, and find it no threat to our Church or our Faith.” The following year, Staines called 1976 “a difficult year,” since both measures had passed the General Convention. He told his congregation that “many Episcopalians everywhere were disappointed at these actions and now the Church must seek to heal its wounds. This parish, like all others, has not entirely escaped the heat generated over these hotly debated issues. The Church has voted, however, and we will go forward from here.”<sup>25</sup>

The ordination of women was to be more disruptive to the church than the civil rights movement had been. Women had a long history of working within the Church and had been active in social work within the denomination since the Progressive Era. But in the 1960s, women started to desire more. They wanted to be active in leading the Church that they had so faithfully served, to be able to serve God better. They wanted to become priests and they organized to achieve the goal.<sup>26</sup>

The struggle started gradually and came from the top down. In the late 1940s and early 1950s it was the laity of the Church, not the Presiding Bishops, who had a problem with women being seated as deputies at the General Conventions. Those diocesan bishops who were opposed to such a move were “chided” for being behind secular society. The ordination struggle started on the deacon level and quickly divided the denomination. In 1964, the Episcopal Church created the office of deaconess, which was a position equal to that of deacon. In 1965, Bishop Pike brought a deaconess into the diaconate as a full member. Women won the right to be seated at the conventions in

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<sup>25</sup> 1975 and 1976 rector’s annual reports, Vestry annual reports 1970s, St. Paul’s Archives.

<sup>26</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 110; Catherine Prelinger, ed., *Episcopal Women: Gender, Spirituality, and Commitment in an American Mainline Denomination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 21, 25, 52-53; Heather Huyck, “Indelible Change: Women Priests in the Episcopal Church,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 51 (December 1982), 385, 392-395.

1970, at which time the church was called to repent for its delay. Delegates also affirmed Pike's decision as valid. The days of the all-male episcopate were numbered. The female ordination movement had learned much from and owed much to the civil rights movement, which caused a "renewed interest in . . . all aspects of leadership in the church." The 1968 Lambeth Conference approved and the 1976 General Convention voted to allow for full ordination of women.<sup>27</sup>

Indianapolis was to play an important role in this debate. In September 1971, the Diocese of Indianapolis moved to the forefront of the debate when St. Matthew's vestry voted unanimously to back Jacqueline (Jackie) Means for postulancy. In May, 1972, Rev. Taylor recommended that Means be nominated for a license as Lay Administrator of the Chalice. The motion was carried with two abstentions. The next year, Craine started working with Means and Natalia (Tanya) Vonnegut (Beck). While Craine was at the forefront of pushing for women's ordination, he did nothing that went contrary to the guidelines of the Church. According to the *Church Militant* he "expended great amounts of energy within the House of Bishops and within this diocese, to bring about the ordination of women." Craine believed that change must be by the book and accomplished gradually.<sup>28</sup>

The vestry of Trinity was concerned with the prospect of female ordination coming out of the 1973 General Convention and about how the diocese would vote in the matter. Rev. Lynch expressed worries that an endorsement for women priests would only

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<sup>27</sup> J. Carleton Hayden, "New Men, Strange Faces, Other Minds: The Human Rights Revolution, 1954-1978," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 49 (March 1980), 71-73, 79-81; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 109-110; *New York Times*, 30 July 1974; Jacqueline Field-Bibb, *Women Towards Priesthood: Ministerial Politics and Feminist Praxis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 294-295; Rev. Mary Ringwald, correspondence with author, 17 February 1998 and 16 September 1998; David E. Sumner, *The Episcopal Church's History: 1945-1985* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1987), 9-11; Paula D. Nesbitt, *Feminization of the Clergy in America: Occupational and Organizational Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 37-38; Prichard, *History*, 255-257; Lotz, *Altered*, 132.

<sup>28</sup> *Church Militant*, December 1977/January 1978; Vestry meetings, 27 September 1971 and 24 May 1972, Vestry minutes 1970-1972 folder, St. Matthew's Archives; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 111, 173; Rev. Tanya

lead to problems with other Christian denominations, in particular the Catholic Church. Trinity did not believe that such problems were worth the struggle for women priests.<sup>29</sup>

Rev. Eric Geib at St. Christopher's supported the idea of female ordination, unlike his predecessor Rev. White. White had once told the parish that "when the first 'priestess' is ordained in this Church this priest will become a plain 'mister'!" As the 1973 General Convention in Louisville, Kentucky, approached, Geib knew that "90%" of the parish reflected White's view more than his own. At the convention, supporters of female ordination argued that men and women were equal in the sight of God, and so both sexes could become priests. They also charged their opponents with being sexists. Ordination was narrowly voted down by employing parliamentary procedure.<sup>30</sup>

Overall, Rev. Lynch told the Trinity vestry that the convention was a "healing" one for the Church, especially considering the events of South Bend four years earlier. He believed the denomination was once again on a "reasonable course." The new Presiding Bishop, John Allin, was "neither a mossback conservative nor a wild radical liberal." While work continued on the new Prayer Book, the old one was still valid and female ordination had been defeated. Lynch cautioned, however, that these rift issues were not concluded and would be back to confront the Church in 1976.<sup>31</sup>

During this time, women turned to Bishop Moore, whose liberal views now

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Beck, correspondence with author, 16 June 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Vestry Meeting, 12 March 1973, 1973 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1970-1979, Trinity Archives. Trinity was in correspondence with other concerned Episcopal churches, such as St. James (Vincennes).

<sup>30</sup> *The Christopher*, October 1969 and October 1973, Archives of St. Christopher's; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 110-111; *Church Militant*, June 1973.

Dioceses that split their votes in the two houses do not have their votes counted. Craine held a meeting with the St. Matthew's vestry to discuss the Louisville Convention and to prepare them for what would happen after the Church gave approval for female ordination. See vestry meeting, 22 November 1971, vestry minutes 1970-1972 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.

<sup>31</sup> Vestry Meeting, 12 November 1973, 1973 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1970-1979, Trinity Archives.

included support for ordaining women. He came very close to doing just that in 1974, but did not. Because of Moore's reluctance, women decided to take matters into their own hands. In Philadelphia, three retired bishops illegally ordained eleven women in 1974. Presiding Bishop Allin, who had replaced Moore's hero John Hines, refused to recognize the ordinations as valid. The House of Bishops was called upon to decide the matter. In a vote of 129 to 9, the body ruled that the ordinations were invalid. Craine joined seven other bishops in abstaining from the vote, arguing that while the ordinations were irregular, they were not wrong. Craine was one of the sixty-seven bishops to co-sponsor the legislation needed to allow female ordination.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these conflicting signals, the Diocese of Indianapolis pressed on. Means announced that she would become the first woman in the diocese to be a candidate for Holy Orders. In April, 1973, St. Matthew's vestry had endorsed her by a single vote. The parish had mixed emotions concerning female ordination. Many had problems "seeing" Means as a priest since they knew her personally. Craine sent a letter to Rev. Taylor, commenting, "I am sorry for the close vote, but it is understandable." Means continued to work at her church. In April, 1974, Means became the first female deacon in the diocese. In February of the following year, she was made a deacon at All Saints

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<sup>32</sup> Sumner, *History*, 21; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 112-116; Paul M. Washington, "Other Sheep I Have": *The Autobiography of Father Paul M. Washington* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 162-172; Field-Bibb, *Priesthood*, 295; Huyck, "Indelible," 389-392; Arthur James Kelly, "The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes Have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long Island" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 207-208; *Church Militant*, December 1964, November 1972, June 1974, and September 1974; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 111; Nesbitt, *Feminization*, 4; James Elliot Lindsley, *This Planted Vine: A Narrative History of the Episcopal Diocese of New York* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1984), 316-322; Konolige, *Glory*, 34.

According to John Booty, the irregular Philadelphia Eleven opened the door for radical theology to invade the Episcopal Church. See John Booty, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publishers, 1988), 65-72.

Moore and Allin had disliked one another since the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s, in Mississippi. Moore used his position as suffragan bishop of Washington, D.C., to recruit northern, white clergy to go South. Allin, then Bishop of Mississippi, opposed the tactic of "outsiders" coming into his diocese. See Michael B. Friedland, "Giving a Shout for Freedom: the Reverend Malcolm Boyd, the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements of the 1960s and 1970s," *Vietnam*

and went there to further her pastoral skills.<sup>33</sup>

Just a few months later, in April, 1975, Means asked the vestry of All Saints for an endorsement, the last documentation she would need before she could become ordained. The vestry was divided over what to do, because they were waiting on word as to what the General Convention was going to decide. In the end, no endorsement was granted, even though Means assured the vestry that she was not going to seek ordination until after a convention ruling. Rev. R. Stewart Wood railed at the vestry, arguing that the question they should have been asking themselves was whether Means was “worthy” of their endorsement or not. He also told the vestry that if they were going to discriminate based on gender, he would consider leaving the church. In May, taking Wood’s threats to heart, the vestry passed the endorsement, but only after a heated discussion. An amendment was attached to the endorsement that stated that it was only valid once Canon Law was changed. Following the vote, Craine announced his decision not to ordain any more men into the priesthood until the General Convention made a decision on women in 1976.<sup>34</sup>

It was obvious as the 1976 General Convention in Minneapolis approached that momentum was building for endorsing female ordination. The convention did so, as well as endorsing the new Prayer Book. Following the report of the vote, the Archbishop of

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*Generation Journal* (March 1994),  
<[http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Friedland\\_Boyd\\_01.html](http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixtie...s/Texts/Scholarly/Friedland_Boyd_01.html)> (11 January 1999).

<sup>33</sup>Rev. Carol Mader (10 o’clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; Craine to Taylor, letter, 2 May 1973, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew’s Archives; *Church Militant*, September 1973, March 1974, and April 1974; Vestry meeting, 25 March 1974, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew’s Archives; Clergy newsletter, 27 February 1975, Clergy newsletter folder, Box 2, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church.

As Means went on, developing her prison ministry and outreach skills, the opinion of St. Matthew’s changed. Though at first they had problems visualizing her as a priest, as time passed, they actively supported both her and her projects.

<sup>34</sup> Vestry meetings, 20 April 1975 and 11 May 1975, 1975 vestry minutes folder, Box 1; Clergy newsletter, 24 April 1975, Clergy newsletter folder, Box 2, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; *Indianapolis Star*, 2 July 1975.



Canterbury, Donald Coggan, labeled those who stood against ordination as “old conservatives.”<sup>35</sup>

In November 1976, the diocese announced that Means was going to become the first female priest in the nation, with Tanya Beck to follow a few days later. Means' ordination was set for 2 January 1977 at All Saints. Everybody in the diocese knew that Craine wanted to be the first bishop to ordain a woman as a priest, and despite the tension it caused within the congregation, it was only logical that Means be ordained at the church that she had “come through” as a deacon. There was a sense among many of the laity that everything was happening too quickly, and perhaps that in his rush to be the first bishop to ordain a woman, Craine was allowing candidates to come forward who were not as well prepared as their male counterparts. Undaunted by these lingering doubts, both Craine and the diocese pressed ahead.<sup>36</sup>

Means' ordination was a “media circus,” “fascinating” to watch, and was witnessed by a “standing room only crowd” of onlookers, who sat not only in the pews, but also on three tiers of bleachers. It attracted local print and broadcast reporters, as well as national attention, including a phone call from CBS's Dan Rather just as the ceremony was about to begin. The strain of the day was apparent on Means' face prior to the service. She knew that she was both making history and, in the terms of those who opposed her ordination, destroying tradition. Means told reporters that she was

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<sup>35</sup> *Church Militant*, June 1976 and October 1976; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 116-117; Sumner, *History*, 12.

<sup>36</sup> “The Sounds of All Saints,” November/December 1976, News 1976 folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 241-242; *Church Militant*, November 1976 and December 1976; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Rev. Tanya Beck, correspondence with author, 16 June 1999.

Means would go on to serve the diocese at St. John's (Speedway) and then at St. Mark's (Plainfield). She would continue to minister to the downtrodden, as she had at All Saints, specializing in prison ministry. The National Church continually recognized her efforts. In December 1998, Presiding Bishop Frank Griswold named Means director of the denomination's Jails, Prisons, and Law Enforcement ministry program. Beck served parishes in the Diocese of Indianapolis and currently in the Diocese of Southwest Florida. See Booth, *Indianapolis*, 211; *Indianapolis Star*, 26 December 1998; Rev. Tanya Beck,

“troubled” by the discord within the Church caused by female ordination. Unfortunately for Bishop Craine, he was too ill to perform the service he had pushed to hold in the diocese. He asked Bishop Donald J. Davis, former rector of St. Christopher’s and then Bishop of the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania, to stand in his place. During Means’ ordination service, twenty former members of All Saints silently picketed their old church. Reporters noted tears in many eyes. The protest outside the church was not disruptive, even though the group presented a petition in a vain attempt to halt the proceedings. However, it was obvious to all who were inside the sanctuary that people were missing.<sup>37</sup>

All Saints felt the impact of both Means’ ordination, as well as the introduction of the new Prayer Book. Both subjects were noted as “divisive.” Two vestry members, Margaret Sayers and Margaret Cabell, resigned in protest over Means’ ordination. The vestry voted to put a note in the next newsletter calling for “reconciliation” with those who left. St. Alban’s chapter of Episcopal Church Women made no mention of female ordination at its January meeting. However, prayers were asked for Means on the day after her ordination within the parish.<sup>38</sup>

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correspondence with author, 16 June 1999.

<sup>37</sup> Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999; Margaret Barnard, interview with author, 16 February 1999; Bishop Donald J. Davis, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 163; *Indianapolis Star*, 2 January 1977 and 3 January 1977; *Indianapolis News*, 3 January 1977. Articles about the ordination appeared in *People* magazine (17 January 1977) and in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (1 January 1977).

St. Matthew’s choir took part in the ordination service and the congregation that had given Jackie Means her start sent a note of congratulations to her. See vestry meeting 3 January 1977, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew’s Archives.

As Bishop Edward Jones recalls, however, Davis agreed to conduct the service not because he agreed with female ordination, but because of his friendship with Craine. Bishop John Crumm of the Diocese of Ohio performed Tanya Beck’s ordination. See Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999; Rev. Tanya Beck, correspondence with author, 16 June 1999.

Though it took place six days later, Rev. Beck’s ordination was also a “circus.” As Rev. Beck recalls, “the ordination itself carried with it a 45-minute protest and I wore a bulletproof vest under my vestments.” See Rev. Tanya Beck, correspondence with author, 16 June 1999.

<sup>38</sup> Vestry meeting, 2 January 1977, 1977 vestry minutes folder, Box 1; “The Sounds of All Saints,” January

One of the things that Means had to learn to deal with after she became a priest was some people's refusal to accept her in that role. While her presence did attract new members it also angered others. Not every member of All Saints, or for that matter the denomination, who opposed female ordination decided to leave the Church over the issue. Means was bothered by congregants who refused to take communion from her. Rev. Jack Eastwood explained to her that this was something that she would simply have to accept, because the acceptance of female priests as equals was not a litmus test for church membership.<sup>39</sup>

Means' ordination became a pivotal point in the history of All Saints, the Diocese of Indianapolis, and the Episcopal Church. Many of the white, old guard Anglo-Catholics in the parish, including the Mote family, who had been members of the church since the 1940s, left the Episcopal Church over the ordination. They went on to help form the Anglican Catholic Church, including Indianapolis's own St. Edward the Confessor. All Saints' annual report simply notes the loss of "old friends" because of the actions of the General Convention, but to those who lost lifelong friends because of the schism, it was a hard break.<sup>40</sup>

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1977, News 1977 folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saint's Episcopal Church; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999; ECW meeting, 17 January 1977, ECW minutes, Green Box, St. Alban's Archives; 2 January 1977 bulletin, Bulletin box, St. Alban's Archives.

<sup>39</sup> Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998; 1976 Annual Report, Annual Report folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999; Field-Bibb, *Priesthood*, 295, 297; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 103, 124-125; David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 173; Konloige, *Glory*, 34; Don S. Armentrout, "Episcopal Splinter Groups: Schisms in the Episcopal Church, 1963-1985," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 55 (December 1986), 295-320.

In his article, Armentrout discusses five major schisms that rocked the church as a result of the 1960s and 1970s and several minor ones. His article is concerned with groups that left the Episcopal Church and formed their own Episcopalesque denominations, not with the people who left the church for other denominations.

For more on St. Edward the Confessor, see *Indianapolis Star*, 12 March 1983 and St. Edward the

With the exception of the protest at All Saints and the subsequent founding of St. Edward the Confessor, there was very little formal protest about female ordination within Indianapolis's Episcopal churches. Many people were proud of the fact that the first "legal" ordination took place in the Circle City. Those who remained in the church dissented quietly. For example, in April 1977, "after discussion," Nativity's vestry voted to approve Means as a visiting priest. They hoped that the action would help them in the area of outreach. The parish also invited Tanya Beck to come for a visit. When the female priests were present, however, some within the congregation refused to partake in communion and one or two families left the church.<sup>41</sup>

Ed Champa recalls having Means at St. John's as "kinda neat" and does not remember any problems between her and the congregation of the Speedway church. However, there are still some people at St. Timothy's who are wary of the idea of female priests. And though St. Alban's eventually received a female rector with open arms, it went through a time of accepting the idea of female ordination. It did lose some members "due to 'woman on the Altar', but . . . these people can choose to leave and find

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Confessor, "The Pro-Cathedral Church of St. Edward the Confessor Anglican Catholic," N.d. <<http://www.wthree.com/sted/>> (29 May 1998). For more on the Anglican Catholic Church, including a copy of the Affirmation of St. Louis (the founding document of the Anglican Catholic Church), see Anglican Catholic Church, "What is the ACC -- And Why?" N. d. <<http://www.anglicancatholic.org/mdh.html>> (2 September 1998).

The Rt. Rev. James Mote, Richard Mote's brother, served as an Episcopal priest for nearly forty years before leaving the Episcopal Church in 1978 over the Prayer Book and female ordination debates. He became one of the ACC's original four bishops. See St. Michael the Archangel Anglican Catholic Church, "History of the Anglican Church of St. Michael the Archangel, Fort Lauderdale Florida," <<http://199.227.192.7/michael/michael.2.html>> (30 October 1998).

Indianapolis is also home to Good Shepherd Anglican Church, a member of the Traditional Episcopal Church, whose members broke with St. Edward the Confessor. The church is located at 1241 E. 54th Street. See Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999. Traditional Episcopalians still use the 1928 Book of Common Prayer and are against female ordination. Additionally, they are also more orthodox in other areas of their faith as well. For more on this new denomination, see The Traditional Episcopal Church, "The Traditional Episcopal Church," <<http://swiftweb.com/tec/index.html>> (1 February 1999).

<sup>41</sup>Vestry meeting, 17 April 1977, 1976 Vestry Minutes, Box 1, Nativity Archives; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999.

a parish to their liking.”<sup>42</sup>

Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, as the issue was being debated, some Episcopalians tried to find a middle ground. The Conscience Clause was eventually passed by the General Convention, which allowed bishops to decide whether or not they would ordain women, but this proved to be a short-lived compromise. People on both sides argued that either female ordination was right or it was not. Those who believed strongly that it was improper left the denomination. Many of those who stayed did so because they accepted the change, and therefore did not see why there needed to be a compromise.<sup>43</sup>

Though the Episcopal Church as a denomination tended to be made up of upper-class, well-educated members, with a rather liberal doctrinal record, there was a powerful conservative minority that did not like the idea of women priests. The minority coalition was made up of the High Church, Anglo-Catholic elite and the Low Church evangelical, middle class. Both groups cited the New Testament and tradition as reasons why they were against female ordination. Many also viewed it as a threat to the apostolic succession. They believed that the idea of women priests was a “strange doctrine” for their denomination to accept. In 1988, when the Episcopal Church ordained its first female bishop, more conservative Episcopalians broke with the denomination and formed the Episcopal Synod.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ed Champa, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999; Rose Lane, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999; Linda Dernier, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Kelly, “Long Island,” 127-134.

<sup>44</sup> Nesbitt, *Feminization*, 10, 33, 38, 109-110; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 119; Huyck, “Indelible,” 389. Huyck characterizes the debate over female ordination as a political one that was “masked” in theological terms.

The Diocese of Long Island was ahead of the National Church in terms of female advancement, but was slower in terms of granting female ordination. See Kelly, “Long Island,” 205-208.

The female ordination debate had international ramifications. For the discussion about the debate over female ordination within the Church of England, see Field-Bibb, *Priesthood*, 85-175. Included in this section of Field-Bibb’s work is an excellent description of theological arguments both for and against ordination, as well as discussion on how female ordination has impacted the Anglican Communion

Female ordination was not the only issue facing the Episcopal Church. The denomination, like other Anglican bodies, likes to say it is diverse theologically, but united in worship. In other words, because of the *Book of Common Prayer*, evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics, and liberals can all worship in the same denomination. Theological doctrine is secondary to unification through worship. To accommodate pluralism and modernism within the denomination required that a greater emphasis had to be placed on the Prayer Book. To change the Prayer Book became a very large point of contention, because evangelicals within the Anglican Communion have, over the course of the Church's history, developed a "liturgical theology" that can be threatened by Prayer Book revision. The battle over proposed revisions had a lot to do with what conservatives considered to be secularization of the scriptures by liberals.<sup>45</sup>

Prayer Book revisions have historically come during times of social change. The first calls for revision came in 1949-1950, as the Mainline Golden Age was just beginning. Revision was commissioned by the 1964 General Convention. In 1967, a trial liturgy was approved, prompting the *Church Militant* to discuss the entire idea of a new Prayer Book. By June of 1968, it was clear that in the Diocese of Indianapolis the trial liturgy was getting mixed results. Not surprisingly, the finding was that the older a person was, the more they disliked the changes made to the liturgy. However, many young adults also resisted the change because they "had grown pretty comfortable with the old ritual."<sup>46</sup>

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worldwide.

<sup>45</sup> Prichard, *History*, 251-254, 257-260; C.G. Brown, "Divided Loyalties? The Evangelicals, The Prayer Book, and the Articles," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 44 (June 1975), 189; Sumner, *History*, 107; Ephriam Radner and George R. Sumner, eds., *Reclaiming Faith: Essays on Orthodoxy in the Episcopal Church and the Baltimore Declaration* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 43-44; Allen C. Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of Reformed Episcopalians* (University Park, Penn.: Penn State University Press, 1994), 8-9.

<sup>46</sup> Lotz, *Altered*, 111; William H. Petersen, "The Tensions of Anglican Identity in PECUSA: An

The churches of Indianapolis, as well as the diocese itself, were caught in the middle of the debate. Rev. Taylor of St. Matthew's was in charge of the diocese's standing liturgical committee while the Rev. Frederic P. Williams, Archdeacon of the Diocese, was on the National Church committee that was developing the trial liturgies, as well as the eventual new Prayer Book. Some of the congregations that he visited believed him to be a "diabolical figure" because of the work he was doing. Eventually he had to confront the naysayers. At one church he asked the congregation if they believed that "God dictated the Bible in Elizabethan English and that Jesus Christ had signed it as an affidavit?" He was met with a cool reception, but the point had been made. Change was the order of the day.<sup>47</sup>

But it was often resisted. At Christ Church Cathedral, Lawson noted that some people within the congregation did not like the trial liturgy. So much so, that in March 1968, he announced to the vestry that the Cathedral was returning to the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer*. He later told the congregation that more work needed to be done on the trial liturgy before he used it again. Sentiment at St. Christopher's was more stark in comparison. Rev. White announced that the parish would use the new liturgy during Lent. Once the process was started, however, the vestry reported their faith in the fact that "Lent can't last forever." As soon as possible, the parish returned to the 1928 book as well.<sup>48</sup>

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Interpretive Essay," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 47 (December 1978), 445; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 104-105; *Church Militant*, December 1967, June 1968, and February 1969; G. B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999.

Along with calls for Prayer Book revision came calls for revision of the hymnal as well. These requests were also met, and while they were a source of contention among some Episcopalians, it did not ignite heated debate like the Prayer Book did. For the importance of hymns within the Anglican Communion, see Erik Routley, *Hymns and the Faith* (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1956); Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999.

<sup>47</sup> *Indianapolis News*, 27 February 1968; Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999. Rev. Williams went on to serve as the chairman of the committee that drafted the 1982 Hymnal.

<sup>48</sup> Vestry meeting, 9 March 1968, Vestry meeting minutes, 1965-1971, box 1/1, CCC Archives; *Cathedral*



Despite Staines' words of "going on," the greatest worry within the congregation of St. Paul's was over revision of the Prayer Book. Staines himself, though he generally supported the idea of the new Prayer Book, "drew the line at using the 'modern' Lord's Prayer." The congregation found the new wordings awkward, but adapted. At Nativity on the other hand, Rev. Ehrgott managed the transition very well. He led the parish through each of the trial liturgies and then held meetings to discuss what was liked and what was not. By the time the new Prayer Book arrived at the church, the idea of change had become common enough that there were few problems. At parishes where there was no preparation, however, the results were different.<sup>49</sup>

At All Saints there was considerable debate over the new Prayer Book. Throughout 1970, the vestry remained staunchly against the new Prayer Book and its trial liturgies, and in support of the 1928 book. However, as time moved on, the trial liturgies gained more and more support, especially as it became clear that many High Church ideas of worship style were being incorporated. The committee on worship distributed a questionnaire to the congregation and on the whole, the trial liturgies found wide support. A typical comment was "I think we need change." Still, the 1928 book had its staunch supporters, including Richard Mote, who wrote at the bottom of his questionnaire, "I object to *any revision* period!" According to Rev. Eastwood, because of the work done by Carthy and his replacement, Rev. Mike Mooney, eventual adoption of the new Prayer Book was a "no brainer." The majority of the congregation came to accept the changes. In terms of style, All Saints actually had to "simplify" some of their High Church practices to meet the same level as the other parishes who were moving from Low to

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*News*, 25 October 1968, Cathedral News Folder, 1968-1971, box 8/2/1, CCC Archives; Vestry meetings 7 January and 3 March 1968, St. Christopher's Vestry Book 2: 1966-1974, Archives of St. Christopher's.

<sup>49</sup> 1976 rector's annual report, Vestry annual reports 1970s, St. Paul's Archives; G. B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999; Joyce Krause, correspondence with author, 23 March 1999; Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999.

High.<sup>50</sup>

Many conservatives within the congregation, like Mote, were simply trying to hold on to what they knew. And they were at odds with a growing number of people in the parish who were not so much concerned with what style of liturgy was used but rather what the church was doing. The very programs that gave the parish a mission were attracting a new breed of parishioner who cared less about the differences between Low and High Mass than they did whether or not the congregation was socially active. All Saints attempted to use both Rite I (much like the 1928 Prayer Book) and Rite II (a more modern version) at its services for awhile, but eventually decided to become an all Rite II congregation. Additionally, the decision was made to use the modern language New Jerusalem Bible as well.<sup>51</sup>

In November, 1970, St. Matthew's established a Liturgical Commission. Rev. Taylor commented that spiritual renewal for the Church as a whole might require some changes. In the case of the Episcopal Church, he believed that one of those changes would be a new liturgy. By the following April, the church started using and evaluating the new liturgy. In its 1973 report on the trial liturgy, St. Matthew's concluded that while the use of modern English was fine in most cases, some things, such as the Lord's Prayer, should remain in their traditional form. While the parish was evenly split between preferring the old and the new, members overwhelmingly supported looking for alternatives to the 1928 Prayer Book.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 163; Vestry meetings, 10 April 1970 and 17 May 1970, 1970 vestry minutes folder, Box 1, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Liturgy Trial Questionnaire folder, Box 4, Archives of All Saints Episcopal Church; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999; Margaret Barnad, interview with author, 16 February 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11 March 1999.

<sup>52</sup> Rev. Carol Mader (10 o'clock Group), interview with author, 20 January 1999; Annual Meeting (17 January 1971) and Report on Trial Liturgy (15 January 1973), Annual Report folder; vestry meetings, 23 November 1970 and 26 April 1971, vestry minutes 1970-1972 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.

In 1971, the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer (SPBCP) was formed. Its mission was to save the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* from “poor revision,” not to halt the revision process. The denomination did all that it could to play down the controversy, even incorrectly portraying the SPBCP as a small organization. In 1972 the denomination decided that a final vote on Prayer Book revisions would be held in 1979. In 1973 the new version of the Prayer Book was put into trial use. Three years later, the draft of the new version was published and comments were solicited. The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Faith were moved to a “historic documents” section of the new Prayer Book, prompting some evangelicals to wonder what the theological underpinning of their denomination was. In the fall of 1974, Presiding Bishop Allin came out against “unnecessary” revision of the Prayer Book.<sup>53</sup>

St. Philip’s made the transition to the new Prayer Book quickly. Rev. Lloyd C. Williams moved the parish towards using the trial liturgies that became Rite II in 1972. He told the parish that he believed the service that became Rite I was too much like the 1928 Prayer Book. Much like at All Saints, Williams also moved his parish towards using the New Jerusalem Bible.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout the 1970s, Trinity battled against revision to the Prayer Book. The

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<sup>53</sup> Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 105-108; *Church Militant*, December 1972 and November 1974; Stephen H. Applegate, “The Rise and Fall of the Thirty-Nine Articles: An Inquiry into the Identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 50 (December 1981), 420-421.

Though the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer failed in its work during the 1970s, a new organization has risen to take its place in the 1990s. The Prayer Book Society of the Episcopal Church holds that the liturgical changes made by the 1979 Prayer Book have been disastrous to the denomination. They advocate a return to the 1928 Prayer Book and to “historic Anglican Christianity in America.” The group is made up of conservative, Low Church people. They have formed their own “independent body of the Episcopal Church” in the form of the Anglican Province of Christ the King. See The Prayer Book Society of the Episcopal Church, “The Prayer Book Society of the Episcopal Church,” N.d. <<http://www.episcopal.org/pbs1928>> (24 January 1999); The Anglican Province of Christ the King, “About the Province: Questions and Answers,” N.d. <<http://www.episcopalnet.org/ProvinceOfChristTheKing/Provinceq%26a.html>> (26 January 1999). Both sites give the viewer access to dozens of articles about how this group of American Anglicans view the Episcopal Church.

vestry consistently reaffirmed their love and faith in the 1928 version. Eugene S. Pulliam believed that parishes should be given an option about which book to use. But this sort of compromise did not take place, and as the decade went on, Lynch kept the parish abreast of the latest revision and used the trial liturgy. In 1976, the new Prayer Book was offered to congregations. The following year, St. Alban's grudgingly accepted the new book. The changes took some getting used to. Older members tended to like Rite I, while younger people supported Rite II. The debate was over language more than theology. St. Matthew's also went along with the changes, reconfiguring their sanctuary to accommodate the new liturgical scene. Two years later, the vestry realized that once the new book was adopted, the parish would have to find the money to supply them for the congregation and to buy a new altar book to go with it.<sup>55</sup>

As it became obvious that a new Prayer Book would be adopted, people started to leave the Church. But not everyone who supported the 1928 book left the denomination. Many stayed, believing that there was still work to be done, even if the liturgy had changed, that only the Episcopal Church could accomplish. Still, that did not stop them from feeling as though the Church had "thrown away some of the baby with the bathwater" and that "the language of the book had essentially been 'trashed.'" The new Prayer Book lacked some of the richness of the old one. For people who remained, the changes in the Prayer Book did not make them angry, only sad.<sup>56</sup> Phyllis Dexter of

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<sup>54</sup> Annual Parish Meetings, 14 February 1972 and 14 January 1974, Annual Parish Meetings: 1972-1979 folder, Archives of St. Philip's Episcopal.

<sup>55</sup> Vestry Meetings, 13 May 1974, 10 June 1974, 9 September 1974, 1974 Vestry Minutes Folder, and 13 October 1975, 1975 Vestry Minutes Folder, and 11 October 1976, 1976 Vestry Minutes Folder, and 17 January 1977, 1977 Vestry Minutes Folder, and 10 April 1978, 1978 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1970-1979, Trinity Archives; *Church Militant*, May 1976; Russell B. Pulliam, correspondence with author, 9 April 1999; *Koinonia* newsletter, February 1977, 1977 folder, Newsletters box, St. Alban's Archives; Jeanne Atkins, interview with author, 2 November 1998; Rose Lane, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999; Hills, *Can Two Walk*, 109; Vestry meetings, 5 April 1976 and 4 December 1978, Vestry minutes 1973-1982 folder, St. Matthew's Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998; Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9

St. Paul's sums up their feelings rather well.

I can not remember whether anyone actually left St. Paul's because of the Prayer Book, but I do remember there was lots of unhappiness. Many of us use the church as a sort of refuge and as a place of peace and dignity. The beauty of the Prayer Book language and the old liturgy, which we grew up with . . . is very comforting to us. I suppose not attending church very often these days, for me anyhow, is to some extent because I do not enjoy the services as much. I read music very well, but the very unfamiliar liturgy and hymns now mean that I must pay undue attention to trying to follow the notes and sometimes no one around me is even trying to sing.<sup>57</sup>

Craine "lovingly but firmly guided his flock" to accepting the new Prayer Book.

He also stood firmly against threats of economic blackmail. It was his successor, the Rt. Rev. Edward W. Jones, who had to oversee the final acceptance of the book. But Bishop Jones soon discovered that because draft versions of the 1979 Prayer Book had been in such wide, trial use, there really were few problems to confront. He allowed the 1928 book to be used for special services, when it would truly comfort and nourish older members. For the most part, however, the transition in Indianapolis was a smooth one.<sup>58</sup>

With acceptance came a dramatic change for the denomination. The old Church parties of Low and High were no more. The new Prayer Book ended the liturgical debate. Moderation occurred, giving a High Church feel to services while using modern language, a Broad Church idea. It was the Low Church group that was forced to adapt to changes such as receiving communion every Sunday, referring to the minister as "Father"

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November 1998; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; G. B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999; Douglas E. Rogers, correspondence with author, 15 April 1999.

Younger members of the church were also affected by the change, though they did not always realize it until later in life. As Gary Lowe commented, "as far as the Prayer Book was concerned, again, as a child, this was the way the church was headed, so there I went. I will say that at the time, the language was easier to follow and comprehend, though I now long for the occasional service in 1928 P[ayer] B[ook] style." See Gary Lowe, correspondence with author, 14 April 1999.

<sup>57</sup> Phyllis A. Dexter, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 112, 115. This, as opposed to the heated debate within the Diocese of New York. See James Elliot Lindsley, *This Planted Vine: A Narrative History of the Episcopal Diocese of New York* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1984), 318; Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999.

rather than “Mister,” crossing oneself, using incense in services, all things that many had been raised to regard as “papist” and the antithesis of Anglicanism. In addition to losing the Elizabethan language of the 1928 Prayer Book, and having it replaced with Rite I, the Low Church group also lost, through attrition, their much beloved Morning Prayer. The unity that the book once provided, despite the theology of the denomination’s members, now became very “murky.”<sup>59</sup>

Bishop Moore believes that these changes have been for the better, because the Church is now more unified, in terms of liturgy, than at any time in its history. And there is a sense of real community that has emerged in some parishes, such as All Saints. The distinctions between the priest and the laity have lessened and a collective sense of what “we are experiencing” has replaced it.<sup>60</sup>

Within the Diocese of Indianapolis, the effects of the changes were noticeable and hit many parishes hard. Trinity (Connersville) experienced “dissatisfaction . . . within the congregation” over the new Prayer Book, losing some members because of the change. St. John’s (Crawfordsville) easily accepted the new Prayer Book and the Rev. Tanya Beck. St. Michael and All Angels (Evansville) was “rocked” by both changes. St. Thomas (Franklin) lost members because of both innovations. St. James (New Castle)

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<sup>59</sup> Fred Munds, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Bishop Stewart Wood, interview with author, 19 January 1999; Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Rev. Robert Giannini, interview with author, 25 March 1999; Holmes, *History*, 17, 121, 126-128; Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church Theology and Social Thought In Evangelical America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Radner and Sumner, *Faith*, 24-37; C.G. Brown, “Christocentric Liberalism in the Episcopal Church,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 37 (March 1967), 7-9, 11-15, 24-29, 33-35.

Nativity witnessed a fierce struggle between Low and High Church forces during its founding. See Helen Zaiser to Craine, letter, 6 April 1959; Craine to Zaiser, letter, 11 April 1959; Ehrgott to Zaiser, letter, 4 March 1963, Nativity Folder, Box 2, Nativity Archives.

There is now movement within the National Church to launch yet another revision of the Prayer Book, less than twenty years after the controversy that resulted in the present one. This new Prayer Book would include only Rite II passages (modern English) and would use inclusive language. See Standing Commission on Liturgy and Music, “Liturgy & Music,” N.d. <<http://www.dfms.org/governance/general-convention/2000-IBs/Lit&Mus.html>> (9 February 1999).

<sup>60</sup> Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999; Robert Goodlett, interview with author, 11

“spent the 1980s getting healed” from the turmoil of the 1970s, whereas St. Andrew’s (Greencastle) accepted both “peacefully” and became an enthusiastic supporter of Rite II.<sup>61</sup>

The battles over female clergy and Prayer Book revision within the Episcopal Church caused then Archbishop of Canterbury Michael Ramsey to ask if the American denomination cared about the rest of the Anglican Communion or not. The Episcopal Church felt as though it could pave its own way, without consulting the other Anglican Churches, because of American hegemony throughout the world. Ironically, the Church spent an increasingly large amount of its time attacking that very hegemony from its pulpits.<sup>62</sup>

People have grown to accept, for the most part, both female ordination and the 1979 Prayer Book. And it is towards the latter that the most problems are still found. G.B. Landrigan summed it up best when he said “adding to the problem [of the new Prayer Book] was the confusion of the different Rites and the options available within each. It made (and still does) for quite a book-juggling act. If you are new, it would probably be pretty tough to follow.” Many Episcopalians were left wondering what exactly has been accomplished by the changes. Some saw female ordination as destroying Anglicanism’s chances of acting as a unifying bridge between the different

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March 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Booth, *Indianapolis*, 140, 143, 150, 156, 158-159, 204. For its part, the Diocese of Long Island has worked to implement the changes that were made by the Church. See Kelly, “Long Island,” 146-147.

The Diocese of Southwestern Virginia also confronted both issues head on. Thanks to the leadership of Bishop Arthur Heath Light, female priests were made to feel welcome in the diocese. In the Diocese of Virginia, the leadership of Bishop Robert Bruce Hall would see both women ordained and the Prayer Book adopted. The Diocese of Massachusetts today boasts 133 of its 580 priests as women and was the first diocese in the Anglican Communion to elect a woman to the episcopate. See The Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, “An Overview and Brief History of our Diocese,” N.d. <<http://dioswva.org/History.htm>> (11 September 1998); The Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, “Who We Are: Our Story, A Brief History of the Diocese of Virginia,” N.d. <<http://www.us.net.edov/whoweare.htm>> (11 September 1998); The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, “Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts,” N.d. <<http://www.diomass.org/h.htm>> (11 September 1998).



branches of Christianity. They also believed that both female ordination and Prayer Book revision forced people who disagreed with it to leave the denomination, further fracturing Christendom.<sup>63</sup>

Just as the strife was reaching its zenith, dramatic change came to the Diocese of Indianapolis. In September 1976, Bishop Craine called for a coadjutor. In February 1977, Eli Lilly died. Just the previous December, he had been named one of the most powerful people in the city, despite his age. Lilly was known as the city's "senior statesman" by many, and for his ability to get others to work for or with him towards a common goal. Though he was a modest and very private man, which kept him from outward displays of religiousosity, there is little doubt that Lilly was a devout Christian. His goal through the last five decades of his life was to make religion a stronger force. In December of that same year, Craine retired from his duties in time to die of cancer. Edward Jones replaced him. More changes came to the diocese in 1978. Rev. Lynch announced he planned to retire from Trinity, after twenty-five years as its priest. Eugene Pulliam followed suit by announcing his retirement from the vestry of the parish as well. In the next few years, Rev. Williams would retire from his post with the diocese and Rev. Staines would leave St. Paul's as well. Both the diocese and its parishes were in search of new leadership and guidance as they headed into the new decade.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Petersen, "Tensions," 427, 452. See note 51 in Peterson's article for more.

<sup>63</sup> Danielle Havens, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999; G. B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 1 March 1999; Sandy Wagner, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999; Geoffrey Rowell, "Wreckers of Church Unity," *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 58 (September 1989), 379-383.

<sup>64</sup> *Indianapolis Star*, 3 December 1976, 25 January 1977, and 26 January 1977; Madison, *Lilly*, 225-226; *Church Militant*, September 1976, February 1977, and December 1977/January 1978; Booth, *Indianapolis*, 114; Vestry Meetings, 11 September 1978, 13 November 1978, 1978 Vestry Minutes Folder, Vestry Minutes Box 1970-1979, Trinity Archives.

Craine remembered Lilly as a man who "wasn't always easy to minister to . . . because one of his stipulations was that his gifts be anonymous. . . . He was a patient man, full of the love of God." Dean Roger S. Gray, the man who replaced Lawson at Christ Church, said "Mr. Eli touched the lives of millions of people throughout the world and did so through his deep Christian convictions and his humbleness of spirit." See *Church Militant*, February 1977.



## Chapter Five

### The Church Today

#### For the Church:

**“O Gracious Father, we humbly beseech thee for thy holy Catholic Church; that thou wouldest be pleased to fill it with truth, in all peace. Where it is corrupt, purify it; where it is in error, direct it; where in anything it is amiss, reform it. Where it is right, establish it; where it is in want, provide for it; where it is divided, reunite it; for the sake of him who died and rose again, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

And so, Indianapolis's Episcopal churches weathered the storms of the 1960s and 1970s. They had handled growth, new parishes, and new programs. They had faced external pressures, such as civil rights and Vietnam, and dealt with internal ones in the form of female ordination and Prayer Book revision. They had even survived the deaths and retirements of powerful clerical and lay leaders. In many ways they did these things better than the National Church. The question is, how?

The answer can be found in comparing the denomination's stands on issues and events with what occurred to and in Indianapolis's parishes. Obviously, both the National Church and the Diocese of Indianapolis grew during the baby boom of the 1950s. So the first question that might be raised is, did new churches react differently to the other issues than older ones? The answer is both yes and no. Yes in that older parishes tended to react to issues faster than newer ones, but no in that generally all of the city's parishes, with a few notable exceptions, reacted in the same ways.

For example, in the case of civil rights, the National Church actively supported the movement. In Indianapolis's churches, the idea was also endorsed. However, it was older parishes, such as All Saints and Christ Church, that became actively involved in civil rights. The other city parishes, in particular the newer ones, were too busy stabilizing themselves (and their congregants were busy rearing young children) to

consider the issue in much more than abstract terms. If the issue was presented to them in a dramatic fashion, however, such as in terms of the Black Manifesto and blockbusting, parishes, whether young or old, became involved.

The case of Vietnam is a bit different. The National Church was staunchly against the war, even if it never took an official stand. Indianapolis's churches, with the exception of Christ Church, whose dean took an early public stand against the war, reflected more national public reaction to the conflict than they did denominational opinion. The parishes appear to have supported the war effort early on and only came to resent the war as it became increasingly obvious that the United States was not fighting to win.

In terms of the internal pressures that wracked the Church, female ordination and Prayer Book revision, the city's parishes reflected the High/Low and liberal/conservative divisions within the National Church almost perfectly. As one member of St. Paul's commented: "I join the vast majority of Episcopalians in supporting the ordination of any qualified priest, regardless of gender. . . . most St. Paul's parishioners have welcomed our female bishop with open arms. . . . I'm told many Episcopalians had a hard time accepting women as priests, chalice bearers, ushers, etc. when the practice started in the 70s. But most obviously did not. The few who REALLY had a problem left and formed the Anglican Catholic Church." As for the acceptance of the 1979 Prayer Book, suggested revision to it holds the greatest potential future problem for the Church.

Rite One is close enough to the 1928 liturgy that none of those folks [older Episcopalians who preferred the 1928 Prayer Book] felt disenfranchised, and they have stayed in the Episcopal Church to this day. The more conservative element that broke away 20 years ago did so partially because of the new Prayer Book. But I have always believed female ordination was the real issue, and I think most Episcopalians would agree with me on this. Looking ahead, there has been talk of yet another Prayer Book revision in the coming decade. I hope the Church thinks long and hard before pressing ahead with this. Rite One is still used in some churches today, but generally only at those services that are heavily attended by the elderly. If we completely eliminated Rite One,

those people would be disenfranchised (and we are talking about some folks who have been Episcopalians for 80 or 90 years). I think taking away their liturgy would be a very deplorable gesture of disrespect. (And I am someone who really prefers Rite Two.) But there is a much bigger issue. What really concerns me is the trend of making God gender-neutral . . . I really do not think that we need to use the Lord and our references to Him as pawns in the game of political correctness. I would submit that many if not most Episcopalians share my sentiments. If the new Prayer Book's authors decide to mandate political correctness, I am afraid you will see a much bigger schism than you did 20 years ago.<sup>1</sup>

The key, then, was not if a parish was established before the 1950s or not, but the kind of priests and laymen it had. Did it have a Lawson or a Staines? Did it have a Lilly or a Pulliam or a Mote who would fight against changes they perceived to be dangerous? From these findings, it can be successfully argued that the parishes of Indianapolis are very representative of the Episcopal denomination nationwide and furthermore, that the Diocese of Indianapolis is representative of the body as well. Perhaps more so than other dioceses, since its bishop, John Craine, consistently guided the diocese in the direction he wanted it to go, just as the National Church and presiding bishops guided the denomination in the ways they wanted it to go.

There are other parallels between the National Church and Indianapolis's Episcopal churches as well. Social consciousness has once again become the norm for the Church, its dioceses, and their parishes. In many ways, dealing with problems was really transferred from local parishes to the National Church. In this respect, the 1950s were an aberration of complacency. Because of the 1960s, affluent parishes have the outlet, via the poorer parishes, to help the poor. There are agencies in place. However, to some, this is not enough. Bishop Paul Moore believes that the Church is more concerned with taking care of the homeless than they are with dealing with the problems that make people homeless.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anonymous, correspondence with author, 7 March 1999.

One result of these decades of turmoil was that the Church itself changed. Gone were the old camps of Low, Broad, and High in terms of liturgy. The fissure was no longer between “Catholics” and “Protestants” but between liberals and conservatives, or in terms of the liturgy, modernists and traditionalists. And even here, the traditional Anglican spirit of compromise has prevailed for those who have chosen to remain within the denomination.<sup>3</sup>

The problems discussed in this thesis are more vivid in the Episcopal Church, but they are the same problems faced by all of the Mainline Protestant Churches since the 1960s. Mainline churches have a history of preaching the social implications of the Gospel. They are upper- and middle-class churches, which also have a tradition of influence in the United States. However, their policies have increasingly caused them to lose, not gain, members, thus endangering their position in society and their ability to affect policy.<sup>4</sup>

But why? In 1972, Dean Kelley offered some possible answers in his book *Why Conservative Churches are Growing*. He said that it is expected that for a “religious enterprise” to succeed, it must be four things. First, it must “preserve a good image in the world.” In other words, it can not endorse doctrines that seem to go against science or modernity in general. Second, it must be “democratic and gentle in . . . internal affairs.”

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<sup>2</sup> Alice Roettger, interview with author, 21 January 1999; Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.

<sup>3</sup> G. B. Landrigan, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999; Rev. Robert Giannini, interview with author, 25 March 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Ephriam Radner and George R. Sumner, eds., *Reclaiming Faith: Essays on Orthodoxy in the Episcopal Church and the Baltimore Declaration* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), xi; Wade Clark Roof, *Community and Commitment: Religious Plausibility in a Liberal Protestant Church* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 4.

Roof argues that the social groups that once made up the Mainline are increasingly supporting more conservative denominations. He also argues that there are cultural, in addition to theological, reasons for this. For more see *Community and Commitment*, 9.

For a dramatic, and Hoosier, example of “Mainline Decline,” see James W. Lewis, *The Protestant Experience in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1975: At Home in the City* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press,

Third, it must be “responsive to the needs of men.” Lastly, it must “not let dogmatism, judgmental moralism, or obsessions with . . . purity stand in the way of . . . cooperation and service.” The only problem, according to Kelley, is that these assumptions about success are wrong. When applied to the Episcopal Church, this especially seems the case.<sup>5</sup>

As several commentators during the years in question observed, “many churches [denominations] are reshaping their ministries to fit the pattern of a new social order.” The Episcopal Church certainly did this during the 1960s and 1970s. Within the Diocese of Indianapolis, as in the denomination as a whole, community service centers were organized, schools were built, civil rights and Vietnam were discussed, and both the priesthood and the very liturgy of the Church were altered and accommodated to a changing world. The question that churches need to ask, though according to commentator John Booty they often do not, is not only whether change is worth the effort, but also whether they should accommodate the World? Rabid forms of liberalism, which spearheaded many of the changes in question, have been and continue to be a problem for the Mainline churches.<sup>6</sup>

Rev. Staines of St. Paul’s would have agreed with Dean Kelley, at least in part. In a 1969 sermon Staines said “the reason why Christianity is weak in our day, is for one reason only: It is because we have not made a commitment of our lives to God.” And yet he also refused to see Kelley’s most basic point. Staines summed up the dramatic years

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1992).

<sup>5</sup> Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), vii-viii.

Kelley goes on to point out that Mainline decline is roughly equal to conservative growth. If the four criteria were correct, according to Kelley, the conservative churches would not be growing at all. See Kelley, *Conservative*, 20-26.

<sup>6</sup> John Booty, *The Episcopal Church in Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publishers, 1988), 62; Arthur James Kelly, “The Response of the Episcopal Church to Social Change and Social Issues, 1960-1978: How These Changes Have Affected the Life and Mission of the Church as Reflected in the Diocese of Long



of the 1960s and 1970s the following way:

These have been the years of the Vatican Council and the reform in the Church of Rome; of the “God is Dead” theology and “the new morality;” of the rise of ecumenism and the merging of many church bodies; of urban decay and urban renewal; of civil rights and liturgical reform. Religion has been more in the news than ever before. To some, this has been a cause of anxiety. To all it has been a cause of concern. Yet surely there is more hope for a Church that is self-critical, and open to change, than for one which is not. Turbulent as this period has been, therefore, I believe in the Church our Lord founded, and that it is going to come out stronger and more virile, more true to its divine commission than before.

However, Rev. Lynch at Trinity would have been even more supportive of Kelley’s thesis. In 1970 he said, “our community and our times cry out for spiritual stability and ethical values,” not more change for the sake of change.<sup>7</sup>

The issues are not as clear-cut within either the denominations or their congregations as Kelley appears to make it, however. As a result, there is a great degree of sympathy among many members of the laity for the clergy, because the priests face many groups within their congregations, all of whom are convinced of the rightness of their own views. In addition to trying to be a peacemaker, the priests must balance the roles of “businessman, program developer, counselor, preacher, moral role model, and more.” It is a difficult and complicated job and it is not getting any easier.<sup>8</sup>

Along with this sympathy, congregations have started to realize that the neighborhoods around their parishes have changed. When this happened to Trinity, they built St. Richard’s school. But not every parish can do that, as Nativity proved. St. Alban’s, which was constructed as a neighborhood church, no longer is and has had to accommodate itself accordingly. St. Timothy’s, which replaced St. George’s on the city’s

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Island” (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Sermon, 4 May 1969, Folder 19, Box 5, Record group 1, and September/October *Positiv*, 1, publications—*Positiv* box, Record group 3, St. Paul’s Archives; *Trinity News*, Trinity 1970, Newsletter: Trinity News Box, Trinity Archives.

Southside, still struggles with attracting people to it. As Ed Champa observed “Over the past six or seven years, many folks have stopped by to check us out, few have stayed. As for our church, we sit here, simply waiting for the rest of the world to discover us.”<sup>9</sup>

This is also the story of the Episcopal Church as well. The denomination has steadily lost members since 1966. Part of the problem is demographic. Their “typical” member throughout their history in the United States has been whites of English descent, which today are an increasingly smaller percentage of the population. Another is their lack of a stand on issues. In an attempt to be all things to all people, the Church quickly became seen as “spineless.” Another reason for their decline is a lack of evangelization to attract new members, in large part because they do not have a tradition of doing so. These factors all feed upon one another. They do not have as many typical members to draw from anymore, and still prefer to have members come to them rather than start evangelizing in the community at large. And since there is no continuity within the Church on issues, as opinion varies from parish to parish and diocese to diocese, there seems little reason why a person should join the Church. As a result, the denomination does not grow.<sup>10</sup>

In 1970, the denomination’s membership was 2.2 million. In 1991, that number had fallen to 1.6 million. According to Ronald E. Vallet and Charles E. Zech, liberal Protestantism, which the Episcopal Church was a part of, attacked American culture during the 1960s and 1970s and lost members as a result. Locally they have done little better. In 1970, there were 8,882 Episcopalians in Indianapolis. By 1990 that number had dropped to 4,630. That same year it was reported that forty-three of Indiana’s ninety-

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<sup>8</sup> Phyllis A. Dexter, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Jeanne Atkins, interview with author, 2 November 1998; Ed Champa, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999.

<sup>10</sup> David E. Sumner, *The Episcopal Church’s History: 1945-1985* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing,

two counties still had no Episcopal presence. In the decades following the years of turmoil, the smallest Mainline Church in the state only got smaller.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the membership crisis, the denomination is also faced with a continuing financial crisis. Though denomination officials continue to say that lack of funds has to do with economic necessity rather than policies, others see the Church's lack of funds as a direct result of liberal policies. Social activism has exacted a price. For various reasons, conservative and traditional Episcopalians reacted to the changes of the 1960s and 1970s negatively, and they withheld their money. By 1970, diocesan support for the National Church had fallen \$3.5 million short of the expected goal.<sup>12</sup>

With the collapse of the unity provided by the Prayer Book, other issues have arisen. One of them is, can there truly be unity of worship, with or without a common Prayer Book, if there is no unity in doctrine. A unity based upon worship alone makes it difficult to define what it means to be an Anglican. Bishop Stephen Sykes, of the Church of England, says that following such a position "has served as an open invitation to intellectual laziness." "Tension and strife" were reported as the reasons for the decline as early as the 1970s. Issue oriented problems continue within the denomination to the present. For example, 63 percent of Episcopalians nationally

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1987), 161.

<sup>11</sup> Ronald E. Vallet and Charles E. Zech, *The Mainline Church's Funding Crisis: Issues and Possibilities* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 11; David W. Lotz, *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 11; *Church Militant*, January 1970 and February 1970; Etan S. Diamond and Arthur E. Farnsley II, "The Changing Face of Indianapolis Religion," *Research Notes from Faith and Community: Indianapolis Religion Briefing Paper Number 2*, The Polis Center, May 1997; L.C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana's Churches and Religious Groups* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 170.

Like all such membership numbers, the figure cited here from Vallet and Zech's work is open to dispute. Other figures place the number higher, others a bit lower. Interestingly, Rudolph reports that as late as 1901, Indiana was still considered a missionary district by the Episcopal Church. So it would seem the jokes told at Bishop Craine's Olympia send off back in the early 1950s were not far from the truth.

<sup>12</sup> Vallet and Zech, *Funding*, 11-12; David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1993), 166. Vallet and Zech cite several examples of funding

approve of abortion on demand, while only 37 percent of the nation as a whole agree with that statement. Forty-five percent of Episcopalians believe that homosexuality is “not always wrong,” while only 27 percent of the nation as a whole agrees with the same statement.<sup>13</sup>

The Church has increasingly been called upon to validate opinions on human sexuality. The debate over homosexuality within the denomination has put the unity of the body in question. The Church today lacks both the power and the ability to be a “teaching church” on issues. For example, it has debated abortion since 1967, but in a very incoherent fashion. Its pronouncements, both pro and con, are so vague as to leave both sides disappointed. How can the Church make pronouncements and allow for dissent? How do they choose the issues on which to speak out? The Church no longer speaks about what will benefit the social good, but rather, only about issues. By discussing the details, rather than the big picture, the Church has lost its focus. Without a strong sense of mission to hold it together, a liberal church is open to changing opinions that cause it to further spiral. Liberal congregations are not as close-knit as conservative ones. The old issues that the Church embraced, such as civil rights, have become mainstream. The new issues, such as abortion on demand, hold little chance of ever reaching the same kind of consensus. Many old liberals (and old conservatives) who have remained in the Church now wonder just what the Episcopal Church stands for.<sup>14</sup>

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crises brought about because of liberal policies in their book, focusing on dioceses in Texas.

<sup>13</sup> Allen C. Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians* (University Park, Penn.: Penn State University Press, 1994), 9; *Church Militant*, April 1971; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 211.

Bishop Sykes now believes that an “intellectual renaissance” is developing in England, concerning the Anglican Communion. Bishop Stephen Sykes, correspondence with author, 16 September 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Timothy F. Sedgwick and Philip Turner, eds., *The Crisis in Moral Teaching in the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1992), 15, 24-32, 35-36, 56, 65 137-138, 144; Roof, *Community and Commitment*, 6; Jeffrey K. Hadden, *The Gathering Storm in the Churches* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969), 67; Rev. Gordon Chastain, interview with author, 2 October 1998.

And it is on these issues that liberals and conservatives still clash. Conservatives, such as those who are members of Concerned Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church (CCLEC), charge that “radical activists seek to replace biblical truth and godly morality with secular humanism and moral relativism. We have become a church which contradicts our own teaching.” They hope to launch a revival within their denomination and also include calls for a return to the 1928 Prayer Book and an end to female ordination. They are joined in their efforts by such groups as Episcopalians United (EU) and the American Anglican Council.<sup>15</sup>

This is proof that there has been a resurgence of evangelicals within the Episcopal Church, as dissent from within the Church has only grown louder. In 1990, feeling that they could not make progress within the Church, many evangelicals formed the Episcopal Synod of America. They enjoyed international Anglican support, drawing bishops from England, Scotland, Australia, and Melanesia to their founding service. They advocated a return to “mere Christianity,” showed a preference for the 1928 Prayer Book, and urged removal of women priests from the episcopate. In 1992, the Synod withdrew from the Episcopal Church and formed the Episcopal Missionary Church. The resurgence of evangelicals also includes charismatics. St. John’s of Speedway, after having two rectors who were charismatics, witnessed a dramatic drop in membership once they left and more traditional Episcopal services were restored.<sup>16</sup>

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The major theological/doctrinal issue facing the Church today is homosexual priests and the blessing of homosexual couples. See Paul Moore, *Presences: A Bishop's Life in the City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 255-260; Alfred Tsang, correspondence with author, 2 March 1999; Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999.

<sup>15</sup> Concerned Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church, “Concerned Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church (CCLEC),” N.d. <<http://www.episcopalian.org/cclec/index.htm>> (24 September 1998); Concerned Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church, “About CCLEC,” N.d. <<http://episcopalian.org/cclec.about-us.htm>> (24 September 1998). For more on Episcopalians United, see their website at <<http://www.episcopalian.org/EU/about.htm>>. For more on the American Anglican Council, see <<http://www.episcopalian.org/aac/narra.htm>>.

<sup>16</sup> Guelzo, *Union*, 334; A. Donald Davies, gen. ed., *The Episcopal Synod of America: Speeches, Sermons*,

Another target for the CCLEC and other evangelical/conservative groups has been Bishop John Spong of New Jersey. Bishop Spong, like Bishop Pike before him, has publicly called for a “rethinking” of Christianity, including the doctrines of the Virgin birth and the importance of the crucifixion. The CCLEC even tried to have him barred from the international Anglican conference in England at Lambeth 1998 because of his “Twelve Theses,” which detailed his challenges to traditional Christian doctrine. CCLEC was joined in their attack on Bishop Spong by the Bishop of Rochester (Church of England), Michael Nazir-Ali, as well as fifty American bishops who called the Theses “a denial of the Faith.” Rev. Peter C. Moore, dean of Trinity Seminary, says that Spong “has essentially placed himself outside the Christian tradition and is using his privileged position as a bishop to attack it.”<sup>17</sup>

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*Documents, and Pictures from the Founding Meeting* (Wilton, Conn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1990); The Episcopal Missionary Church, “The Episcopal Missionary Church: Defend the Historic Faith,” N.d. <[http://emc-holycross.org/emc\\_info.html](http://emc-holycross.org/emc_info.html)> (11 September 1998); *South Bend Tribune*, 21 March 1999; Rev. Mary Campbell, interview with Polis Center, 7 July 1998.

For more on the background of other Anglican Churches, as well as ones discussed later in this chapter, see Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism* (London: Mowbray & Company, 1977).

“Mere Christianity” is a concept made famous by C. S. Lewis in his book by the same name. In the book, Lewis, who was a member of the Church of England, argues not for any single denomination but rather for “the belief that has been common to nearly all Christians at all times.” This is what the Episcopal Missionary Church is still calling for today. C.S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1996). The above quote is from page 6.

<sup>17</sup> Concerned Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church, “Online Publications: The Archbishop of Canterbury Urged to Bar Bishop Spong from the Lambeth Conference,” N.d. <<http://www.episcopalian.org/cclec/paper-londontimes.htm>> (24 October 1998); Peter C. Moore, ed., *Can a Bishop be Wrong?: Ten Scholars Challenge John Shelby Spong* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1998), xxi. Contributors to *Can a Bishop be Wrong?* point out that Spong’s scholarship is “outdated” and “oversimplified,” that he hopes to reconcile Christianity to modernity, and that his ideas are on “the cutting edge of the Nineteenth Century.” See pages 2, 41-42, and 116-118.

For Bishop Spong’s biography, see The Episcopal Diocese of Newark, “Biography of John Shelby Spong,” N.d. <<http://www.intac.com/~rollins/jsspong/jssbio.html>> (27 October 1998). Some of his books include *Beyond Moralism: A Contemporary View of the Ten Commandments* (1986), *Living in Sin? A Bishop Rethinks Human Sexuality* (1988), *Rescuing the Bible from Fundamentalism: A Bishop Rethinks the Meaning of Scripture* (1991), *Born of a Woman: A Bishop Rethinks the Birth of Jesus and the Treatment of Women in a Male Dominated Church* (1992), and *Resurrection: Myth or Reality? A Bishop’s Search for the Origins of Christianity* (1994).

Spong also angered many African Bishops by calling their adherence to orthodox views “superstitious.” He apologized at the Lambeth 1998 Conference. See *Anglican Communion News Service*, Note 1687, 28 July 1998.

Spong’s “A Call for a New Reformation” has also been called “The Twelve Theses” because he makes twelve specific challenges to traditional Christian doctrine, and “stands ready to debate each of

As early as 1986, Asian and African Christians, including a good number of Anglicans, were growing concerned with the “paganism” which they believed had infiltrated the churches of the West. For its part, the Episcopal Church does not always understand what is going on in other Anglican Churches. In 1997, Asian and African bishops let it be known that they were concerned with the direction in which the Episcopal Church was headed. Some even considered calling for the Anglican Community to “break communion” with the American body and bar them from the Lambeth Conference in 1998. This was a strong threat, since “at least 75 percent of the World’s 70 million Anglicans live in the Third World.”<sup>18</sup>

While there continue to be conservative rumblings within the church, some of the controversy has died out because liberals have quieted down. Secularists today often have a hard time justifying their ideology. Though the Episcopal Church is still liberal, people today ask why? It seems to make more sense for the Church to adopt a more moderate stance on issues.<sup>19</sup>

Liberal churches, including the Episcopal Church, have since the 1960s, spent a lot of time trying to appeal to youth, women, and minorities, through new programs and policy changes. The problem is that they have not spent much time offering those same

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them.” He resurrects the “God is dead” movement, attacks the Trinity, virgin birth, creation, miracles, calls the sacrifice on the cross “a barbarian idea,” the Resurrection and Ascension impossible, says there is no absolute truth, no hell, and calls for respect of all human beings regardless of “race, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation.” See John S. Spong, “A Call for a New Reformation,” N.d. <<http://www.intac.com/~rollins/jsspong/reform.html>> (4 September 1998).

For the Bishop of Rochester’s reply to the Twelve Thesis, see Michael Nazir-Ali, “A New Way to Speak to God? – Bishop Michael responds to Bishop Spong,” N.d. <<http://www.anglican.org.uk/rochester/docs/anewway.htm>> (4 September 1998). Bishop Sykes also decried Spong’s statements. Bishop Stephen Sykes, correspondence with author, 16 September 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Radner and Sumner, *Faith*, 1, 13; Terry Mattingly, “Cracks in the Anglican Communion,” N.d. <<http://www.gospelcom.net/tmattingly/col.07.16.97.html>> (4 September 1998).

The threat apparently helped cause liberal American bishop’s to hold off from calling for acceptance of homosexual marriage. See also, Mattingly’s “Lambeth ’98 – The Americans are coming!” N.d. <<http://www.gospelcom.net.tmattingly/col.10.29.97.html>> (4 September 1998).

<sup>19</sup>Robert W. Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse Publishing, 1991),



people the one thing that the Church has intrinsically provided: salvation. In other words, they have shied away from doctrine to their own detriment. They have missed an opportunity to provide people with meaning to their lives because they were not prepared for people actually seeking God. Liberal churches believe that they are losing members because they are not progressive enough. Former Presiding Bishop Hines seemed to believe that people left the denomination because it was not active enough. This feeling is still held by many within Indianapolis's churches, who believe that "the church will have to change accordingly or continue to lose members." Yet Thomas Reeves, author of the *Empty Church*, is right to point out, as do Kelly and Kelley, that people were really leaving because of the liberal positions and activities that the Church was participating in. Findlay points out that the NCC suffered a budget cut at the same time the Episcopal Church did, at the same time it was engaging in liberal politics, not because it was inactive socially.<sup>20</sup>

Bishop Spong offers a perfect example of this. He views himself as leading a "faithful remnant" of liberals. His own diocese had 44,423 communicants in 1978 upon his ordination. As of 1995, that number had fallen to 24,648. Likewise, the Diocese of Pennsylvania is trying to stave off losing "one-third of our real membership in a generation." Contrary to Spong's own prescription, conservative churches are thriving and doing things that liberal churches formerly did and no longer can. Today it seems that the conservative churches are becoming the new Mainline, pushing the more liberal churches to the margins. Moderates in both camps may end up forming a new center.<sup>21</sup>

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264-269; Lotz, *Altered*, 10; Rev. Jack Eastwood, interview with author, 5 February 1999.

<sup>20</sup> Kelley, *Conservative*, 92, 136; Lotz, *Altered*, 38-39; Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: Does Organized Religion Matter Anymore?* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1998), 28; Kelly, "Long Island," 234-237; James F. Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 222-223; Phyllis A. Dexter, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Moore, *Bishop Wrong*, 6, 54, 97; Roof and McKinney, *Mainline*, 237-243; The Episcopal Diocese of

The Episcopal Church, on some levels, is attempting to change for the better. In a pamphlet entitled "The Episcopal Church Welcomes You," the denomination attempts to spell out what it is and what it believes. According to this pamphlet, it "is a Bible Church, a Catholic Church, a reformed church, a reverent Church and a missionary church." Furthermore, it tells the prospective member that "if you are looking for a church that is clear about the Christian faith, that is not preoccupied with secondary issues, that stands in the rich tradition of Christian worship, that encourages people to grow in faith as they profess, that believes we ought to live so as to make a difference in the world, then the Episcopal church is for you."<sup>22</sup>

Bishop Catherine M. Waynick of Indianapolis seems poised to continue into the next century the middle-of-the-road approach to issues and the work that John Craine started and Edward Jones continued. She, like several of the parishes she leads, is better off because of Eli Lilly's bequest. When Lilly died in 1977, he left 10 percent of his vast estate to Christ Church Cathedral, with the condition that the church never leave the Circle. He also left 4 percent of his estate each to Trinity, St. Paul's, the Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis, and the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral Foundation.<sup>23</sup>

This middle-of-the-road spirit can also be seen at the international level. Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey, during Lambeth 1998, called for "flexibility balanced with firm faith." He also said that this was the only way for the Communion to be renewed and once again to become a "witnessing community." While the conference

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Pennsylvania, "Bennison Investiture," N.d. <<http://www.diopa.org/sermon.html>> (11 September 1998).

<sup>22</sup> "The Episcopal Church Welcomes You," pamphlet, circa 1990s. Much of this evangelical drive from within the denomination, comes from its Southern dioceses. See, The Episcopal Diocese of Oklahoma, "The Diocese of Oklahoma," N.d. <<http://episcopaloklahoma.org/mainbody.htm>> (17 September 1998).

<sup>23</sup> St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, "Biography of Rev. Catherine M. Waynick," N.d. <[http://www.avcnet.com/church/Search/Waynick\\_Profile.htm](http://www.avcnet.com/church/Search/Waynick_Profile.htm)> (30 October 1998); St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, "Question Responses," N.d. <<http://www.avcnet.com/church/Search/WaynickQues.htm>> (30 October 1998); *Indianapolis Star*, 26 January 1977.

was a victory for conservatives, especially in regards to homosexuality, it was a battle won by African and Asian conservatives. For American liberals, the conference is seen as a mere delay, since they are not bound to honor anything that comes out of Lambeth. But they are being more cautious, since they know that the conservatives from around the Communion are watching them closely.<sup>24</sup>

The world of the late 1970s was much more complicated than the years following World War II. The bureaucratization of the denomination, which had, in part, created the environment needed to ordain women and change the Prayer Book, caused the rift to grow between the laity and the clergy. Because of the pocketbook boycott, in 1970 the Episcopal Church was forced to slash its executive council staff from 203 to 104. And in the end, liberals decided that rather than debate doctrine with conservatives, they preferred to not mention it. In the words of Bishop Moore they have “sacrificed justice for unity.”<sup>25</sup>

Many of the underlying problems that the Episcopal Church had during the 1960s and 1970s are still with it today. The denomination still has the reputation of being a “rich man’s church,” even though many of its congregations struggle financially. Many

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<sup>24</sup> *Anglican Communion News Service*, Note 1643, 20 July 1998; Note 1718, 5 August 1998; Note 1723, 5 August 1998. The Conference passed a very conservative resolution on homosexuality, defeating requests that the Anglican Communion accept gay and lesbian marriages. The resolution was passed by a vote of 526 in favor, 70 opposing, and 45 abstentions.

Over 150 bishops, including Americans John S. Spong, Catherine Waynick, and R. Stewart Wood, signed a letter sent to the Episcopal Church essentially condemning the resolution. Bishops from England, Australia, Canada, and other nations joined them. Presiding Bishop Frank Griswold also joined in issuing a statement against the resolution. See *Anglican Communion News Service*, Note 1762, 5 August 1998; Note 1763, 14 August 1998.

In his Christmas message, Carey said of Lambeth “On the other hand, we found too, from time to time, that the diversity of our experience and histories brought us into confrontation with one another. That, for many of us was a painful experience, and one which will live with us for a long time. But these experiences are the reality of life and, indeed part of family life.” See *Anglican Communion News Service*, Note 1792, 30 November 1998.

<sup>25</sup> James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 785; Kelley, *Conservative*, 9; Nicholas J. Demerath III and Phillip E. Hammond, *Religion in Social Context: Tradition and Transition* (New York: Random House, 1969), 172, 187; Bishop Paul Moore, interview with author, 29 January 1999.

of the National Church's leaders and many of the bishops are more liberal than the local congregations. And it is here that there continue to be battles over issues such as female ordination, the Prayer Book, and homosexuality.<sup>26</sup>

And yet the Church itself, especially in Indianapolis, has changed dramatically. Many of the people who left the church (the Anglo-Catholics excepted) were Low Churchmen. Over the years, Indianapolis's parishes have become increasingly High Church in their worship style. This change has less to do with the bishops and more to do with priests coming out of seminaries and having to deal with Biblically illiterate congregations. High Church worship style is more "showy," and it includes the use of words, music, and incense. This mixes well with visually orientated congregations better than sermons on theology.<sup>27</sup>

Bishop Moore, who did so much to make his denomination more complicated than it once had been, has since the late 1970s tried to heal the wounds of the rift. He has taken a more moderate stand in recent years and understands where the conservatives were coming from even if he does not often agree with them. Though some liberals, such as Moore, have moderated their views, conservatives, such as Reeves, no longer see a future for Mainline Protestantism, and especially the Episcopal Church. As one observer put it, "one of the things Christians are disagreed about is the importance of their disagreements." As Moore, himself, points out, if something is not from God, it will wither away. In other words, only time will tell which side is correct.<sup>28</sup>

However, Rev. Frederic Williams believes that the turmoil has been worth it.

The Church is now more open and "layperson" friendly. He describes the Church today

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<sup>26</sup> Jerry Belknap, interview with author, 28 October 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Gloria Kemper, interview with author, 9 November 1998.

<sup>28</sup> Moore, *Presences*, 90-91, 255-258; Kit and Frederica Konolige, *The Power of the Their Glory*:

as “a man in a canoe without a paddle and not knowing whether or not he is going to be able to control it or not,” but he has “made it through the rapids” without one and smooth water is ahead. One of those laypersons, Linda Dernier comments in the same spirit that “it always has amazed me that the Episcopal Church is so concerned with changes inside of the church. They never seem to change anything without making major involvement of *all* Episcopalians.” Perhaps, then, there is hope for the future after all.<sup>29</sup>

Retired Indianapolis bishop Edward Jones, believes that the Episcopal Church is a “sleeping giant.” He thinks that if the National Church could find a way to take care of its internal problems, which range from homosexual relationships to interpretation of scripture, that it has the potential to grow by being a church for Christians of all traditions. In essence, he is resurrecting the old Anglican idea of the denomination being a bridge between the Protestant and Catholic worlds. He sees a bright future for the Church in Indianapolis, so long as its parishes continue to keep a “presence” in the city -- the same idea that Eli Lilly and John Craine nurtured within the diocese during the 1950s.<sup>30</sup>

C.S. Lewis talked about Christianity being a hall with many rooms branching off of it, representing the various denominations. Lewis advised his readers that it was up to them to decide which room to make themselves at home in, but that they should first accept the invitation to enter the hall. He also advised that “when you have reached your own room, be kind to those who have chosen different doors and to those who are still in the hall. If they are wrong they need your prayers all the more; and if they are your enemies, then you are under orders to pray for them. That is one of the rules common to

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*America's Ruling Class: The Episcopalians* (New York: Wyden Books, 1978), 366-369; Thomas C. Reeves, correspondence with author, 23 October 1998; Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Rev. Frederic P. Williams, interview with author, 23 February 1999; Linda Dernier, correspondence with author, 3 March 1999.

the whole house.” Surely if Christianity is as Lewis described it, then the metaphor can be extended to opposite sides of the hall or even different corners of the same room. And if this is so, then it makes his injunction for civility all the more important.<sup>31</sup>

In conclusion, then, the Episcopal Church, at both the national and local levels, endured the various changes and challenges that the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s handed it. It survived even if it did not always flourish. It has continually striven to blaze its own path, sometimes with success and sometimes with failure. The churches in this study, as part of the Diocese of Indianapolis, are proof of this. As Rev. Robert Giannini, current dean of Christ Church Cathedral, said, “there is something to be said for being the middle of the road guy, because you can help both sides see the opinion of the other. The problem is that everybody on both sides shoots at you.”<sup>32</sup> This, then, is the lesson to be learned from the Episcopal churches of Indianapolis. It is something that the Diocese of Indianapolis has learned from and that perhaps the National Church would do well to consider as well as it enters the twenty-first Century. To be the defender of the faith is not always an easy job, but it is necessary.

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<sup>30</sup> Bishop Edward Jones, interview with author, 8 April 1999.

<sup>31</sup> Lewis, *Mere Christianity*, 11-12.

<sup>32</sup> Rev. Robert Giannini, interview with author, 25 March 1999.

## Appendix:

### The Diocese of Northern Indiana

#### A Prayer for the Clergy and People:

**“Almighty and everlasting God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; send down upon our Bishops, and other Clergy, and upon the congregations committed to their charge, the healthful Spirit of thy grace; and, that they may truly please thee, pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant this, O Lord, for the honour of our Advocate and Mediator, Jesus Christ. Amen.”**

**--1928 Book of Common Prayer**

It has been argued in the preceding pages that the Episcopal churches of Indianapolis were, despite their urban nature, representative of both the Diocese of Indianapolis and the National Church. To further this argument, it would be helpful to see if they are also representative of other Episcopal dioceses as well. Fortunately for the researcher, Indiana boasts two Episcopal dioceses, which allows for easy, if only preliminary, comparison.

The Diocese of Northern Indiana, founded in 1898 because of the efforts of Bishop John Hazen White, encompasses the northern third of the state. Like the Diocese of Indianapolis, it also grew during the post-World War II period. In 1946, it was the third fastest growing diocese in the nation. Unfortunately for the diocese, however, this dramatic growth was short lived. According to the current dean of the Cathedral Church of St. James, “the number of Episcopalians in this diocese peaked in the late 1950s.” Unlike what occurred in both the diocese and the city of Indianapolis, the growth in the Diocese of Northern Indiana during the 1950s was neither uniform nor was it assured. Though some new parishes were started, such as St. David’s (Elkhart), others grew hardly at all.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert J. Center, *Our Heritage: A History of the First Seventy-Five Years of the Diocese of Northern Indiana* (South Bend: Petersen Printing Company, 1973), 35, 48; Rev. Henry Randolph, correspondence with author, 22 March 1999; Rev. Frederick Mann, correspondence with author, 23 March 1999; The Episcopal Diocese of Northern Indiana, “Profile,” N.d. <<http://www.nd.edu/%7ektrembat/www->



An example of the latter is St. John of the Cross (Bristol). The 1950s are recalled as a “no growth period” in the parish history. In the words of a parishioner, “things went on in the way only small towns ever seem to do, from one year to the next with no spectacular changes. St. John’s church seemed most unchanged of all.” There were reasons for this lack of growth for the small Bristol church. They lacked both a priest of their own and a Sunday School program to attract families with children. Both of these things were needed ingredients for church growth during the 1950s. It was not until the late 1960s, with the arrival of Rev. Donald D. Dunn, that St. John’s began to attract new members, mainly from the Elkhart area. One of the first things to occur during Dunn’s pastorate was a massive building and renovation campaign that expanded and refurbished the church plant.<sup>2</sup>

Along with growth, the two Hoosier dioceses also shared an interest in promoting Episcopal based education. As was mentioned previously, in 1946, the dioceses teamed up to launch a college in Danville. Though this enterprise failed, the basic idea remained. In 1977, Trinity (Fort Wayne), following in the footsteps of Trinity (Indianapolis) and Nativity, helped start a private Canterbury School in its church.<sup>3</sup>

The civil rights movement also affected the Diocese of Northern Indiana. As Rev. Robert J. Center points out in his history of the diocese, “Northern Indiana has been host to one General Convention. That one should be enough to do the diocese for a century.” Center was, of course, referring to the Special Convention that was held in

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EDNIN/eec/profile.4.html> (19 May 1999). By 1997, according to Dean Mann, “there were half the number of Episcopalians now than there were then [1950s] in the diocese.”

<sup>2</sup> Ron Kaser, *St. John’s, Bristol: A Parish History (1843-1989)* (Bristol, Indiana: Bristol Banner Books, 1989), 54-55, 60-61, 68-69, 75-77.

From 1952 to 1963, the prime years of growth in Indianapolis, St. John’s (Bristol) had as its supply priest the Rev. Bruce Mosier. Mosier served the parish out of love for eleven years, while his actual charge was St. James (Goshen). According to the Kaser history, Rev. Mosier conducted an early service at St. James, then drove for a mid-morning service at St. John’s, and left in time to officiate at the late service back in Goshen. See Kaser, *St. John’s*, 59.

South Bend during 1969, to deal with the demands of the Black Manifesto. Many within the diocese believed that the \$200,000 pledged because of the outburst by Manifesto proponents was little more than giving in to blackmail.<sup>4</sup>

Rev. Leonel L. Mitchell, who arrived in the diocese two years after the Special Convention, said, "I **never** heard it [the Special Convention] mentioned in the diocese. Presiding Bishop Hines was not well liked by the Diocesan, the Rt. Rev. Walter Klein, who considered him much too liberal, theologically and politically, as did many of the clergy and laity." Bishop Klein's successor, the Rt. Rev. William C. R. Sheridan, says that "the Diocese was a typical Mid-Western one – conservative. Its reaction to civil rights and Vietnam was Mid-Western. The reaction to the General Convention at South Bend was quite strong, and, in general, 'unfavorable.'"<sup>5</sup>

Like many congregations across the nation, including several in Indianapolis, Trinity (Fort Wayne) took precautions in case they were visited by members of the Black Manifesto movement. They met the threat of disruption by having plainclothes police "join" the congregation and by having a patrol car circle the block around the church. Rev. George Bartlett Wood said "I had seen the podium taken over by a black demonstrator at the South Bend Convention, and I did not intend to give my pulpit away by force."<sup>6</sup>

But the radicals' demands did not stop churches within the diocese from working for civil rights. As Rev. Mitchell said, "there was not much practical objection to the programs . . . when they were separated from their liberal rhetoric." He believes that

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<sup>3</sup> Center, *Northern Indiana*, 36-40; John D. Beatty, *Beyond These Stones: A History of Trinity Episcopal Church Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Fort Wayne: Trinity Episcopal Church, 1994), 230-231.

<sup>4</sup> Center, *Northern Indiana*, 62-69.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Leonel Mitchell, correspondence with author, 4 December 1998 (emphasis in original); Bishop William C. R. Sheridan, correspondence with author, 20 May 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Beatty, *Stones*, 207

though the diocese and its churches were not always at the forefront of the civil rights movement, their heart was always in the right place. According to Rev. Robert Fitzpatrick, Rev. Wood of Trinity is still remembered fondly by “older African-American clergy in Fort Wayne.” Holy Trinity (South Bend), because of its location on the city’s westside, which is a center of the black community, generally supported the civil rights movement.<sup>7</sup>

As has been alluded to, the diocese was active during the Cold War/Vietnam period as well. Rather than produce priests such as Paul Moore, Malcolm Boyd, or Peter Lawson who actively protested against the war, the Diocese of Northern Indiana reflected the Hoosier conservatism that so enraged Boyd and that was evident in most of Indianapolis’s congregations. For example, following the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, Trinity (Fort Wayne) helped bring twenty-five Hungarians to Indiana. And when the nation’s attention shifted from Europe to Asia, the church actively supported the United States’ effort in Vietnam. The church not only sent members to serve in the armed forces, but its rector, in stark contrast to Lawson at Christ Church, proclaimed from the pulpit his agreement with the nation’s foreign policy in Vietnam. Rev. Wood said “my permanent position as chaplain of the 82nd Airborne Division Association assured that there would be no peace protests without making it an issue.” At Holy Trinity (South Bend) there were no problems generated by the war, and definitely “no preaching from the pulpit” about the issue. This was not the case, however, at Gethsemane (Marion), where Rev. Tom Riggs gave a sermon that denounced the war.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Rev. Leonel L. Mitchell, correspondence with author, 4 December 1998; Rev. Robert Fitzpatrick, correspondence with author, 23 March 1999; Rev. Joseph Illes, correspondence with author, 27 March 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Beatty, *Stones*, 196-197, 204; Rev. Joseph Illes, correspondence with author, 27 March 1999; William Munn, correspondence with author, 17 April 1999. This is not to say that there was not opposition to the war, or that the diocese today does not count among its number priests who opposed the war in Vietnam. See Rev. Henry Randolph, correspondence with author, 22 March 1999.

The issue of female ordination, which was promoted by the Diocese of Indianapolis and its bishop, John Craine, was resisted strongly, at all levels, by the Diocese of Northern Indiana. Bishop Sheridan commented on women priests this way:

I could almost literally weep at the anguish of hundreds of priests and thousands of lay people . . . as they contemplate the possibility of the future ordination of women priests and bishops being forced. . . . As your Chief Pastor, I see the possibility of the sheer, tragic, unnecessary WASTE OF SOULS.<sup>9</sup>

For many years, according to Rev. Mitchell, the diocese resisted and “formally opposed the ordination of women to the priesthood.” This has changed in recent years, thanks in large part to the leadership of Bishop Francis Gray, who succeeded Sheridan. But for those who still do not support the idea, their views are accepted and they are not persecuted for their beliefs.<sup>10</sup>

The example in Gethsemane (Marion) is telling. In the early 1970s, the parish stood staunchly against the ordination of women. The congregation was appalled at the illegal ordinations that took place in Philadelphia. This animosity towards the idea did not dissipate, even after Jackie Means made a visit to Marion. In the words of William Munn, her sermon “wigged out the congregation.” Led by their rector, the Rev. Bill Murphy, the parish voted to officially not recognize female ordination. But as time passed, the parish became more open to the idea. In 1997 it called Megan Traquair to serve as its rector, who is now enjoying a “very successful pastorate.” This is similar to

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<sup>9</sup> Beatty, *Stones*, 242. Emphasis in original.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Leonel L. Mitchell, correspondence with author, 4 December 1998; Rev. Bradley McCormick, correspondence with author, 19 November 1998; Bishop William C. R. Sheridan, correspondence with author, 20 May 1999.

Though Bishop Sheridan, in his own words, “had genuine problems” with female ordination, he has since come to modify his stance somewhat. He believes that the five female priests serving the diocese today are “of superior quality.” He has been asked by all of them to serve as a supply priest for their parish from time to time, and also helps mentor several of them.

what took place at Holy Trinity (South Bend) as well, which after initially resisting female ordination, has since called a woman to be rector of the parish.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps because of its reputation as “a citadel of Anglo-Catholicism,” the Diocese of Northern Indiana had few problems with Prayer Book revision. As has been noted previously, Prayer Book revision actually made the Church as a whole more Anglo-Catholic in the ways it worshiped and so places with this heritage, such as All Saints in Indianapolis, had few problems. Bishop Sheridan told the diocese in 1976 that the new Prayer Book was going to be accepted in 1979, so the parishes should prepare for it in the meantime. Because of his efforts, according to Rev. Mitchell, the book today is “used throughout the diocese, generally with enthusiasm.”<sup>12</sup>

Holy Trinity (South Bend) is a good example. Within the parish there was little debate over either accepting changes or which Rite would become the dominant one. According to Rev. Joe Illes, “the Rev. William Hibbert . . . made up his mind that we would become a Rite Two parish. I will not say that everyone was happy but it did seem to be accepted fairly well. We knew that as rector he was in charge and this was OK with us so no problems.” St. Paul’s (Mishawaka) adapted rather easily to the new Prayer Book, after a period of “exploration.” Rev. Frank McKee recalls that process was slow in the diocese and the changes “took some getting used to.”<sup>13</sup>

However, that is not to say that the Prayer Book revision was accepted on its face. The “green book” trial liturgy was met with mixed results at Trinity (Fort Wayne). Additionally, at St. John’s (Bristol), when the Rev. Dunn started to move the

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<sup>11</sup> William Munn, correspondence with author, 25 March 1999; Rev. Joseph Illes, correspondence with author, 29 March 1999.

<sup>12</sup> Center, *Northern Indiana*, 79-91; Rev. Bradley McCormick, correspondence with author, 19 November 1998; Rev. Leonel L. Mitchell, correspondence with author, 4 December 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Rev. Joseph Illes, correspondence with author, 29 March 1999; Rev. Frank McKee, correspondence with author, 15 May 1999; George Imus, correspondence with author, 6 May 1999.

congregation from Low to High, he met some resistance. While the parish did add new members because of the liturgical change, it also lost others. Gethsemane (Marion) and St. Paul's (LaPorte) were slow in accepting the transition from the 1928 Prayer Book to the new version.<sup>14</sup> The experience of Trinity (Michigan City) is very revealing about the entire process:

[The] 70's were marked by liturgical experimentation. Following the guidelines set forth by the Standing Liturgical commission and on the diocesan level by Bishop Klein, Trinity participated fully in the experimentation designed to culminate in the adoption of a revised Prayer Book. Actually, the experimental usage had begun in 1967 with an Eucharistic rite known simply as "The Liturgy of the Lord's Supper." At the conclusion of a three-year trial use, both clergy and laity were asked to comment and evaluate. There followed a couple of minor revisions referred to laughingly as "The Zebra Book" (because of its striped cover) and "Son of Zebra."

Having taken into consideration feedback from the pews, the Liturgical Commission then published Services for Trial Use, a blue-covered proposed Prayer Book. This book not only provided for the Daily Offices . . . but also two rites for the Sunday Mass. The first, known as Rite I, was essentially conservative in tone making use of the traditional Tudor English . . . Rite II was based on the Liturgy of the Lord's Supper (1967, revised). More adaptable than Rite I, it made extensive use of congregational participation . . . It eschewed archaic expressions for the contemporary idiom.

For several years, Trinity Parish alternated the use of the two basic rites, conforming to the guidelines for study and for actual use in worship. During the period, more modern hymns and Eucharistic music were sung periodically, including . . . folk Masses, such as that of Ian Mitchell accompanied by guitars and other instruments. Father Center also provided courses on the history and structure of the liturgy, and the congregation was given an opportunity to evaluate and criticize the trial liturgy by filling out questionnaires. At the time, the parish as a whole seemed to prefer the more conservative Rite I, though there were a minority which preferred the 1928 Prayer Book to all revisions and a more numerous group opting for Rite II and its more modern flavor. Interestingly, there appeared to be little correspondence between the age of the respondents and their liturgical preferences. Some of the youth preferred more traditional forms and some of the elderly the vernacular of Rite II.

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According to Imus, the congregation of St. Paul's "handled" the issue of female ordination "better than" their priest at that time.

<sup>14</sup> Beatty, *Stones*, 216-217; Kaser, *St. John's*, 77; Rev. Frank McKee, correspondence with author, 15 May 1999.

The whole process was climaxed in 1976 and 1979, when the General Convention of the Episcopal Church voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Proposed Prayer Book. The action of 1979 made it the official Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church. The parish continues to provide worship settings calculated to appeal to the liturgical tastes of the parishioners. The early Mass on Sundays is invariably that of Rite I while the 9 a.m. Eucharist fluctuates periodically between the two. The weekday Masses in the chapel usually follow Rite II.<sup>15</sup>

Rev. Henry Randolph, of St. David's (Elkhart), sums up the turmoil of female ordination and Prayer Book revision that so racked the denomination in the following way:

The ordination of women was a touchy political and cultural matter that masqueraded as a canonical issue. ECUSA [Episcopal Church United States of America] simply changed her canons, making it possible for women to be ordained. The culture in which the Church has to live and work was, and in many cases is, simply not ready for this. We live with the fall-out of this even today. For instance, we have people in this parish who cannot bring themselves to receive the Blessed Sacrament from a woman priest. We also have those who do not seem to find women priests a troublesome thing at all. We all live together with it, each respecting the position of the other, regarding the Church and our parish as being a very "roomy" place. We are all lovers and followers of Christ. I suspect that every diocese of the Church experienced some loss of membership over the BCP [Book of Common Prayer] 1979. Yet, I'm also convinced, by experience more than anything else that these losses were the result of the "excuses" mostly used by people who simply wanted to drop out anyway. I think that the BCP 1979 challenges the Church to live the words we pray. It moves us to a deeper relationship with God in Christ, which can be very threatening to those of us who are comfortable with being their own Saviours.<sup>16</sup>

The diocese also has a prime example of "Mainline Decline" in the form of Christ Church (Gary). Christ Church was the first church to be built in Gary, Indiana, shortly after the turn of the century. As such, it occupied a special place and a prominent location in the city. However, as John W. Lewis points out, the forces of urbanization, suburbanization, demographic changes, and overall decline in "mainstream" Protestantism, which ravaged other denominational "flagship" churches in the Steel City,

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<sup>15</sup> Trinity Episcopal Church (Michigan City), "Liturgical Change and Enrichment," N.d. <<http://www.trinitymc.org/history/liturgy.html>> (11 November 1998).



also came to bear against Christ Church. In 1983, seventy-five years after its founding, Christ Episcopal Church in downtown Gary closed its doors for the final time.<sup>17</sup>

As for the future of the diocese and for the Episcopal Church, Rev. Bradley McCormick believes that “under the leadership of three godly Bishops . . . Northern Indiana has maintained a steady course of ecclesiastical life based on love and comprehensiveness rather than on compromise for the sake of some superficial unity.” Bishop Sheridan believes that the National Church is “obviously in trouble spiritually and in matters of the Faith.”<sup>18</sup> Perhaps Dean Frederick Mann of the Cathedral Church of St. James (South Bend) summed it up best, in terms of his parish, diocese, and denomination, in one of his sermons:

We spend a lot of time . . . talking about our diversity. . . . No matter how you slice it, no matter what angle you take on trying to figure out this parish, no matter how you try to identify what kind of church we really are, I would bet that there are never more than 3-4 families who fit any given description – any given socio-economic position – any given category – any given theological position. Liberal or conservative, traditional or contemporary, Anglo-catholic or charismatic, committed to spirituality or committed to the social gospel, committed to growth in numbers or committed to internal growth, are we a parish first or are we a cathedral first, should we stay in downtown South Bend or move to somewhere else – and on and on and on – we are about as diverse as any congregation can be and still be called **A** congregation.

And we all know the dangers and difficulties of this. Church growth leaders would tell us that we are right on the road to failure. They would tell us that until we can figure out which **one** of the many alternative ways to being **A** congregation we really want to focus on, that we will never be able to grow in size, or in depth, or in maturity, because we will never be able to commit ourselves to that one particular way, and hence we will never be able to attract that one particular kind of person or family.

You know, those church growth leaders are probably right. We are taking the risky road here at St. James. We are doing things (to borrow

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<sup>16</sup> Rev. Henry Randolph, correspondence with author, 22 March 1999.

<sup>17</sup> James W. Lewis, *The Protestant Experience in Gary, Indiana, 1906-1975: At Home in the City* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 206.

The city's Episcopalians now attend services at the more suburban churches of St. Augustine's and St. Barnabas-in-the-Dunes.

<sup>18</sup> Rev. Bradley McCormick, correspondence with author, 19 November 1998; Bishop William C. R. Sheridan, correspondence with author, 20 May 1999.

the 60's phrase) counter-culturally. Several of us have been email-chatting about this matter recently, and to paraphrase one of them from this past week, St. Michael's will probably continue to kick our fanny in terms of church growth because they have determined their one particular way of being Anglican, and we have not.

Should we? Should we choose one of those alternatives above, or two at the most, brothers and sisters, and commit to it in a way that invites everyone who is not included to go someplace else? That's what most churches do, whether they know it or not. Or should we decide instead to maintain and welcome our tremendous diversity, our risky diversity that has and probably will continue to keep down our numbers? I cannot answer that question for you, although I have answered it for myself. All I can do, this morning, is to remind you of the ingenuousness of the lectionary committee in presenting us with those two valid but different ways of thinking about salvation, one in Jeremiah and the other in Paul, and then end by having Luke tell us, "be careful that you do not do what everyone else does. Be careful when everyone thinks that you are on the right path. Be careful when everyone thinks well of you. Be careful when everyone thinks that you are successful." Brothers and sisters, we are not called upon to be successful, but only to be faithful. Pray for this church, and join in the discussion of what its future should be. We need your prayers. We need your contributions. We need to see the face of God every time we look at you. Amen.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The Cathedral Church of St. James, "1998 Epiphany VI," N.d. <<http://www.nd.edu/~ktrembat/www-EDNIN/Parish/CSJ/dox/krt.sermon.15feb98.html>> (11 November 1998). Emphasis in original.

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### **Background**

Born: February 13, 1975, Goshen, Indiana  
Graduated: June 4, 1993, Northwood High School, Nappanee, Indiana  
Married: July 24, 1999, to Erin Elizabeth Heuer, Indianapolis

### **Education**

#### ***Indiana University Bloomington***

I will be entering the Ph.D. program of the Department of History in the Fall of 1999.

#### ***Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis***

M.A., History (expected August 1999)

My thesis is entitled "Tradition, Transition, Turmoil, and Triumph: Indianapolis Episcopalians Confront the 1960s and 1970s," and is a result of in depth research in parish archives and interviews conducted with over fifty Hoosier Episcopalians.

#### ***Indiana University Bloomington***

B.A., History and Political Science, May 1997. Outside concentrations in West European Studies and Business.

### **Relevant Work Experience**

#### ***Research Assistant, Pathway Productions (August 1999)***

Duties included fact checking, proofreading, and researching for scripts that Pathway was producing for the History Channel's new series "History's Lost and Found."

#### ***Research Assistant, The Polis Center (8/97-8/98, 5/99-8/99)***

Duties included research in congregational and Center archives, as well as the State Library, and conducting interviews of clergy and members for the Center's Religion and Urban Culture project. Researched and wrote a number of essays for Center use, including one on the impact of UNIGOV on religion in Indianapolis, one on the formation of new congregations in the city's suburbs following World War II, and one on the legal battles that some congregations faced when they tried to locate in residential areas of Indianapolis.

#### ***Associate Instructor, IUPUI Department of History (8/98-5/99)***

Duties included leading four discussion sections of an introductory U. S. History class. Personally responsible for the grading, attendance, and leading discussion sections for over one hundred students each semester. I worked with the professor in designing the unit tests, as well as grading. Also was allowed to give two lectures to the entire class, the first on George Washington and the second on the importance of the Second Great Awakening.

#### ***Assistant to the Graduate Secretary, IU-B Department of Political Science (8/93-5/97)***

Duties included maintaining graduate student files, sending information to potential graduate students, and assembling applicants' files for admissions committee review.

## **Other Work Experience**

Ice cream parlor (summer 1997), Factory (summers 1994-1995), Construction (summers 1991-1993), and Farm work (summers 1991-1993).

## **Graduate Activities**

### ***Faculty Search Committee (8/98-3/99)***

Graduate student representative on Africa/Middle East search committee for the IUPUI Department of History.

### ***Guide for Organization of American Historians Conference (March 1998)***

Led a historic walking tour of downtown Indianapolis to an OAH session at Christ Church Cathedral.

### ***Federal Court History Committee (10/97-5/98)***

Member of Art and Architecture subcommittee for the Federal Court building (Indianapolis) history project.

## **Undergraduate Activities**

Phi Alpha Delta (pre-law fraternity), IU College Republicans (served one year as treasurer), IU Young Americans for Freedom (served three years as vice chairman).

## **Conferences and Papers**

### ***Indiana Association of Historians, Annual Conference (March 1999)***

Delivered a paper entitled "Teaching History: A Student's Perspective."

### ***George Washington Conference, LSU-Shreveport (September 1998)***

Part of the Deep South Presidential Series, paper entitled "George Washington as Cincinnatus: A Model of Leadership."

### ***American Catholic Historical Association, Annual Conference (March 1998)***

Delivered a paper entitled "St. Patrick of Ireland: Unifier of Christianity."

## **Publications**

### ***Journal of Anglican and Episcopal History (Forthcoming)***

"Crisis on the Circle: Christ Church Cathedral Confronts the 1960s."

### ***George Washington Conference (Forthcoming)***

LSU-Shreveport plans on publishing the conference's papers in a volume of collected works.

## **Professional Memberships**

*Indiana Historical Society*

*Indiana Irish Cultural Society*

*Indiana Organization of Religious Historians*

## **Other**

Member of Meridian Street United Methodist Church, Indianapolis